

JPRS 85016

27 December 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2248

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

27 December 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2248

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

- Incendiary Weapons Effect Used by NATO Described
(Kuncho Mariyanski; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1983) ... 1
- Suggestions for Improving Party-Political Work in Army
(Editorial; ARMEYSKI KOMMUNIST, No 10, 1983) 9

HUNGARY

- Press Treating Topics Censored for Decades
(Tibor Hajdu; ELET ES IRODALOM, 9 Sep 83) 17

POLAND

- Provincial Party Activities Reported
(Various sources, 3, 4 Oct 83) 25
- Lublin's Scientific Community Discussed, Henryk Domzal
Interview
Comments on Krakow Ideological Indoctrination Center
Marian Wasilewski Interview
Municipal Party Indoctrination Program
Basic Party Member Obligations, by Tomasz Persidok
- Provincial Party Activities Noted
(Various sources, 6, 7 Oct 83) 38
- Equip Party Members with Arguments
Educational Function of Party Jurisdiction, Jerzy Urbanski
Interview
Public Assistance, State Policy
Lublin Plenum on Youth Behavior
- PZPR Ideologue Outlines Goals of Marxism-Leninism
(Adolf Dobieszewski; ZYCIE PARTII, No 21, 12 Oct 83) 48

Proposed Press Law Discussed by Commission Member (Bogdan Michalski Interview; SLOWO POWSZECHNE, No 209, 21-23 Oct 83)	53
Political Relationship Between Wages, Prices Examined (Jan Rem; TU I TERAZ, No 42, 19 Oct 83)	59
PZPR Official Comments on Cadre Policy (Tadeusz Dziekan Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 25 Oct 83)	63
Schaff's Book Evokes Continuing Polemic (Various sources, Nos 7-8, 44, 45, Jul, Sep, 30 Oct, 6, 11 Nov 83)	69
Schaff's Book Reviewed, by Antoni Malinowski Road to Socialism Examined, by Tadeusz Mendelski Schaff's Analysis Faulty, by Tadeusz Mendelski Schaff Professes Eurocommunism, by Tadeusz Iwinski	

ROMANIA

Anniversary of Creation of Unified National State (Stefan Stefanescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 20, 25 Oct 83) ...	101
Development of Socialist Awareness (Petru Panzaru; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 20, 25 Oct 83)	108
Need to Counter Religious Views Stressed (Florin Georgescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 20, 25 Oct 83)	117

INCENDIARY WEAPONS EFFECT USED BY NATO DESCRIBED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1983 pp 9-11

[Article by Col Kuncho Mariyanski: "Incendiary Weapons in NATO and Defense Against Them"]

[Text] In determining the possible nature of a modern war, the military-political leadership of NATO has proceeded from the position that combat operations can be conducted employing both conventional weapons as well as nuclear weapons. According to the Western theoreticians, an important place in the course of combat operations without the use of nuclear ammunition will be held by incendiary weapons.

These weapons, for example, were widely employed during the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. According to information in the press, around 40 percent of the bombs dropped on this nation were loaded with incendiary mixes. During the period from 1965 through 1971, over 500,000 tons of napalm were consumed by the United States over Indochinese territory and more than 1.7 million tons of airborne incendiary ammunition (bombs, cluster bombs and spray devices) were dropped.

According to Western military specialists, the increased importance of incendiary weapons under present-day conditions is due to the fact that with massed use against personnel and equipment located in areas of dispersed and evacuated population, it is possible to cause 4- or 5-fold more damage than with fragmentation and high explosive ammunition. On the other hand, for the development of incendiary weapons there are extensive and accessible raw materials and the possibility of rapidly organizing simple industrial production. These weapons have a comparatively low cost in comparison with the remaining types of weapons. Also international legal limitations do not exist for them.

The U.S. military specialists classify incendiary weapons as a type of "tactical weapons of mass destruction." According to them, with their use it is possible to carry out the following tasks: to cause injury to the population; to create large fires at airports, ports, industrial installations, population points and elsewhere, to disorganize the work of national economic installations; to destroy vegetation, agricultural animals and forests. Using these weapons it is also possible to create passageways through areas contaminated with combat toxins (so-called fire decontamination); to illuminate various targets at night in the aim of increasing the effectiveness of the fire systems,

to demoralize the personnel and spread panic among the troops and civilian population in the rear.

The NATO military specialists include in the concept of incendiary weapons the incendiary substances and mixes as well as the means of their delivery. The classification of them is made by various features, most often according to their chemical nature.

Incendiary substances of the sort of ordinary napalm cover a broad range of thickened (jellied) inflammable fluids and natural fuels as well as mixes with the addition of thickening agents (thickeners) or various high-molecular organic compounds.

Napalm as a representative of the thickened mixes is of the greatest combat importance. It is a mixture of gasoline or of the aluminum salts of higher aliphatic acids (naphthenic, palmitic, oleic and others). The classic formula of the napalm thickener powder consists of: 50 percent palmitic acid (coconut oil); 25 percent naphthenic acid and 25 percent oleic acid (the so-called M-1 mix). Various thickener mixes give different qualities to the napalm. In appearance it is like poor-quality soap powder with a yellowish or black tint and with the specific odor of rubber. After the mixing of the napalm powder with the gasoline and its "maturing" a highly sticky gelatinous mass is obtained.

Napalm reaches a temperature of around 100°C . It burns with a yellow-red flame accompanied by dense black smoke. The duration of the burning of individual drops of "classic" napalm is around 30 minutes. After its burning it leaves a grayish-black matter which damages the skin if one attempts to remove it. Admixtures of sodium alloys improve its ability to burn in water while peroxides give an explosive nature to the combustion and increase the psychological impact.

For increasing the burning temperature, it is possible to add to the napalm magnesium or aluminum shavings (powder). These metallized incendiary mixes based on oil products have been given the name of pyrogels. These include oil products and magnesium in the form of powder or chips, liquid asphalt and heavy oils. In burning they reach a temperature of $1,600^{\circ}\text{C}$.

In World War II thermite mixes were widely employed. Incendiary compositions of this type were ordinary mixes of powdered aluminum (around 75 percent) and iron oxide (around 25 percent). In some thermite compositions, in addition other metals and oxidants (metal oxides or oxygen) were used as fuel and these led to the desired change in the quality of the thermite. Thermite compositions burn very rapidly, they have an insignificant flame and high temperature. The basic injurious factor is the resulting greatly heated or overheated slag or metal (over $2,000^{\circ}\text{C}$) capable of melting metal structures of significant thickness.

A new aspect in the development of incendiary substances was the appearance of the pyrogels. These combined the positive qualities of ordinary napalm and the thermites. In terms of their physical composition, the pyrogels are metallized mixtures of ordinary napalm and thermite-incendiary components (metal

fuels and oxidants). The appearance of pyrogels is a dough-like mixture with a metallic color. They burn intensely with a flame and a great deal of smoke in which a highly molten slag is formed in contrast to ordinary napalm.

Also considered as incendiary substances are phosphorus and its compounds, certain alkali metals and metalloorganic compounds. Of the phosphorus compounds, various polysulfides are used, in being more widely employed in the special pyrotechnical mixtures.

White phosphorus is a hard wax-like poisonous substance which spontaneously combusts in the air. It burns in reaching a temperature from 800 to 900° C with the abundant production of a dense poisonous smoke.

Red phosphorus is being evermore widely employed. Characteristic of it is that in burning a dense cloud of smoke is formed as well as a flame with the temperature reaching 1,200° C. Smoke-incendiary cartridges are also employed and these are designed to start fires.

The substances and mixtures which are presently used in the NATO armies are shown in the table.

The devices which deliver the fuel mixes to the target, their spraying and ignition can be flamethrowers, grenade launchers, incendiary ammunition (artillery shells, grenades, cartridges and mines), aviation bombs (cluster, canister) and so forth.

In recent years, the NATO countries have also developed the so-called fuel-air explosives (in some sources they are known under the name of ammunition with diffuse detonation, volumetrically detonating and so forth). Their action comes down to creating over the target to be hit an aerosol cloud of the appropriate substances or mixtures and which explodes after a preset time according to the specific type of substance necessary for obtaining an optimum concentration of the explosive mix. This ammunition was employed for the first time under combat conditions in the war against Vietnam in 1971. Here also combat testing was conducted on the CBU-55B bomb (the diameter of the aerosol cloud was 15 m, the height was 2.5 m, the overpressure on the front of the shock wave was around 19 kg per cm²). On the basis of this bomb, several modifications (CBU-61/63, CBU-70 and CBU-72B) have been developed and these are suitable for various types of aircraft.

A new area in the development of fuel-air explosives has been the research conducted in the United States on developing such ammunition for use under water and in space. Methods are being developed for spraying aerosol compositions in these media and the detonation processes in them are being studied.

In the view of foreign specialists, at present work is being done intensely to improve the M-34 incendiary grenades which are used in the NATO armies, the incendiary hand grenades and slabs, signaling cartridges and so forth.

At present the United States is hard at work in the area of incendiary napalm mixes in the aim of giving them qualities which increase their combat effect. The injuring of people and other objects with such weapons is done chiefly

Type and Designation	Burning Temperature, °C	Composition	
		Fuel	Thickener
napalm NP-2	800-1,000	gasoline (91-96%)	M-1 (4-9%), aluminum salts of the acids of coconut oil, naphthenc and oleic
napalm NP-2	800-1,000	gasoline (91-96%)	M-2 (4-9%), 95% M-1 and silica gel
napalm NP-3	800-1,000	kerosene	M-1
napalm JM	to 1,000	gasoline, stearic acid, calcium oxide	isobutyl methacrylate and natural rubber
napalm B	about 1,000	gasoline + benzene	polystyrene (50%)
white phosphorus WP	to 1,200	phosphorus	none
plasticized phosphorus WP	to 1,200	phosphorus	rubber in xylene and plasticizer
pyrogel PT-1	to 1,600	oil derivatives, magnesium, KNO_3 , nitrocellulose and others	isobutyl methacrylate and natural rubber
pyrogel PT-2	to 1,600		
thermite TH-2	over 2,000	thermite, $\text{Ba}(\text{NO}_3)_2$ oil	none
thermite TH-3	over 2,000	thermite, $\text{Ba}(\text{NO}_3)_2$ oil and sulfur	none
thermite TH-4	over 2,000	thermite $\text{Ba}(\text{NO}_3)_2$ aluminum	polyester resin
spontaneously igniting substance		triethyl aluminum	polyisobutylene

through the falling of the burning vapors and drops of incendiary substances on them or by the effect of the flames. Napalm causes severe and extensive burns, in penetrating deep, it continues to burn for a long time and spreads and widens in attempting to remove it.

Burns from napalm are divided into five degrees:

First Degree--blackening of the skin with abacterial inflammation.

Second Degree--blackening with the formation of blisters.

Third Degree--sloughing off of the surface layer of the skin.

Fourth Degree--burns encompassing the subcutaneous tissues.

Fifth Degree--burns encompassing the deep tissues (muscles, tendons, blood vessels and bones).

Equally severe injuries on the face and, for example, on the back are endured differently by a person: wounds on the face are more severe. The degree of the burn also depends upon the total area of the body exposed to the burning effect.

With exposure to napalm, very often there is thermal shock, since in most instances over 25 percent of the skin is involved. Sometimes up to 85 percent of the injured persons die while those surviving recover over a period from one month to a year. In recovery from the wounds, rough scars develop which lead to deformation and limited mobility of the extremities. Sometimes severe impairment of the inner organs can also occur.

Napalm is also injurious through the carbon monoxide which is produced in its burning, particularly during the first 20-30 minutes. This can lead to fatal poisoning. In remaining in an atmosphere with a carbon monoxide concentration of 0.5 percent, death occurs after 20-30 minutes and with a concentration of 1 percent even for 1 or 2 minutes, a person loses consciousness. Very frequently after intoxication, headaches, difficult concentration, depression and so forth are observed.

Napalm is also a great consumer of oxygen. In burning 1 liter of gasoline, around 3.5 liters of oxygen is removed from the environment. During the first 5 or 6 seconds from the start of a napalm attack, there is an acute need for oxygen and this aggravates also the course of carbon monoxide intoxication.

The clinical picture of exposure to napalm is divided into four periods:

The first period--the appearances of severe thermal shock and intoxication by carbon monoxide dominate. It lasts for around 3-4 days. Around 70 percent of the injured persons perish.

The second period (of complications)--the clinical picture is characterized by arising pulmonary complications; hemorrhaging, mental disturbances, great lability and so forth which occur with a 10 percent exposed area of the skin. Its duration is 30-40 days.

The third period--great feebleness is present, secondary anemia and suppurative processes develop as a result of the reduced resistance of the organism.

Fourth period (recuperative)--is characterized by a slow and difficult recovery. Hepatitis and other illnesses can develop as a complication. Scarcely 10-15 percent of the victims survived.

Napalm also has a great mental effect. With its spraying, it falls like a fiery rain with a loud roar and whistling. It is accompanied by the outbreak of fire fields with flames up to 5-6 m high. This leads people who are not familiar with its effects to panic.

Inflammatory agents hit not only personnel. They can also cause great damage to the national economy, in causing fires at industrial installations, in agriculture, on means of transport, in housing, forests and so forth. The losses increase significantly if the personnel of the Civil Defense formations are not trained to act under the conditions of the employment of incendiary agents.

In order to minimize the injuries to the civilian population and guarantee the operation of national economic installations under the conditions of the employment of mass destruction incendiary agents, the CD [Civil Defense] staffs and services plan and must be able to carry out the following measures:

- a) Predict the outbreak and spread of fire;
- b) Maintain continuous observation of the use of incendiaries by the enemy and conduct reconnaissance for the outbreak of fires;
- c) Provide the necessary CD resources for extinguishing the fire;
- d) Preparing and employing protective facilities, protective properties of transport and the terrain as well as individual equipment and clothing with direct exposure to incendiary agents;
- e) Providing the CD formations with fire extinguishing equipment;
- f) Carrying out fire safety measures and training the entire population for defense against this perfidious weapon.

Experience up to now has shown that the best defense of the population and the personnel of the CD formations can be provided in using the available shelters, fallout shelters, basements and so forth as well as field-type shelters. The protective properties of open trenches, foxholes and so forth are increased by building over them light covers from noncombustible materials and covered by a layer of dirt 5-10 cm thick.

Means of transport covered by ordinary tarpaulins also have definite protective capacity.

Individual protective gear, garments and footwear, cloaks, tents and so forth also provide short-term protection.

For protection against incendiary substances directly at the moment of their spraying, it is possible to use any available covers such as asbestos, various oil cloths and so forth. The ignited cover must be immediately removed.

All transport equipment must be equipped with devices for extinguishing a fire (fire extinguishers, shovels, buckets and so forth).

The rescuing of the population is the basic task of the CD formations in working in a fire area. The victims are located, the incendiary substances on them are extinguished, burning clothing is put out, the persons are taken to a safe place and given medical first aid. In all instances in the case of an injury it is recommended that the person immediately be taken from the fire area if possible upwind, after which the burning clothing and individual protective gear are removed.

A small amount of the burning mixture which has fallen on clothing or on exposed areas of the body can be extinguished by closely covering the place with one's sleeve or another nonburning portion of outer clothing, or with wet dirt or snow. One must not try to wipe away the mixture as this increases the burning surface and consequently the area of the wound. If a large amount of the burning mixture falls on a person, the victim should be completely covered with heavy clothing, a piece of tenting or something similar and abundantly flooded with water.

The extinguishing of the mixture which has fallen on transport equipment, other equipment, protective structures, industrial and agricultural installations is carried out using fire extinguishers, by covering with dirt, sand or snow, by covering with tarpaulins, sacking, tenting and so forth. The dirt, sand and snow are very effective and are easily accessible for extinguishing the incendiary mixes. The tarpaulins, sacking, tenting and other similar materials are employed with small fires.

It is not recommended that a large amount of the incendiary mix be extinguished with a directed jet of water as this can lead to the spreading (running) of the burning mixture.

Extinguished areas can easily be reignited and with the presence of phosphorus can ignite spontaneously. For this reason extinguished pieces are carefully removed from the damaged object and are carried to a place specially prepared for this.

Medical first aid is immediately provided to victims. First of all the victims themselves or with outside aid extinguish the incendiary substances which have fallen on their skin or clothing. After this areas of clothing and underwear at the site of the burn are carefully cut away and removed with the exception of the scorched areas. Remnants of the extinguished incendiary mixture and phosphorus should not be removed from the exposed skin, as this is very painful and there is a danger that the burned surface will become contaminated. In order to prevent reignition, it is essential to apply a bandage moistened in water or a 5-percent solution of copper sulfate. Clothing is wet with the same solution. During the summer, the bandage moistened in water is kept wet until the first aid station is reached.

If there is no solution of copper sulfate, a bandage is applied to the wounded areas of the body, in using the individual protective packet or a special bandage. With large burns first aid is applied at specialized medical facilities.

Incendiary weapons need not cause great losses or significantly prevent the carrying out of daily activities under wartime conditions if the personnel of the CD formations and the entire population have high moral-mental strength, if they understand the enemy incendiary weapons and know how to correctly protect themselves from them.

10272

CSO: 2200/38

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING PARTY-POLITICAL WORK IN ARMY

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMMUNIST in Bulgarian No 10, 1983 pp 3-10

[Editorial: "High Quality of Party-Political Work"]

[Text] During the last training year the commanders, staffs and political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations have done effective work to creatively carry out the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and from the new theoretical concepts and applied approaches developed by Comrade T. Zhivkov after it, from the instructions of the minister of national defense and those of the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the People's Army for further increasing the combat readiness of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] to a level of the present-day party requirements and considering the aggravated international situation. These all-encompassing activities are vivid confirmation that the servicemen of the BNA are closely rallied around the BCP Central Committee headed by Comrade T. Zhivkov and are working wholeheartedly for the construction and defense of a developed socialist society.

Party-political work is making a greater contribution to intensifying combat training activities, for improving the style of work and leadership by the command and political personnel and to developing the socialist competition and effectively carrying out the tasks related to military and political training.

Massed political and cultural-educational activities have been carried out on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the 70th anniversary of the Balkan War, the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenskiy Revolt and the 60th anniversary of the September days of 1923 and the class-party, patriotic and international indoctrination of the personnel has been raised to a higher level.

A review of the increased role and militancy of the primary party organizations in the fight to carry out the congress decisions and the Second Army-Wide Conference for Party Secretaries has created a favorable situation for enriching the content of party organizational work and for more fully linking it to the tasks which are being carried out by the commanders, political bodies, staffs and troops.

In spite of the indisputable successes in all areas of our activity, what has been achieved does not fully meet the high party requirements on the subjective

factor in the BNA, the significantly improved training facilities and the increased measures on combat and political training. The contradiction pointed out by Comrade T. Zhivkov in his speech to the party, state, economic and social aktiv in Varna on 30 May 1983 between the insufficiently high quality level of the products, between the comparatively slow rise in it, on the one hand, and the main socioeconomic tasks which we are striving to carry out in building developed socialism, on the other, are also apparent specifically and to a certain degree in the BNA.

For confirming and broadening the achieved successes and overcoming the weaknesses and shortcomings in combat training activities and the communist indoctrination of the personnel during the new training year party-political work is confronted with new, even more responsible tasks.

The main task for political indoctrination at present is to further rally the personnel around the BCP Central Committee and mobilize its forces to carry out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference for improving the quality of military activities and achieving high successes in military and political training, strengthening discipline and raising combat readiness.

For successfully carrying out this it is essential to conduct more effective and purposeful organizational work to improve the quality of all-round troop activities. Fundamentally new achievements of scientific and technical progress are to be widely introduced for training and indoctrinating the personnel. This is a dependable way for improving the thinking and approach of the commanders, the political bodies, the leadership of the higher military schools and scientific institutes and for rapidly assimilating the new ideas, proposals and decisions and their applied introduction for further increasing the training and combat readiness of the troops. More concern must be shown for improving the pedagogical and procedural training and the responsibility of the exercise leaders for fully covering the personnel; the training facilities must be fully utilized and the tasks of the weak schedule must be carried out effectively.

Work will be continued to carry out the requirements of the 12th BCP Congress, the orders of the minister of the national defense and the instructions of the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the People's Army to recruit, train, indoctrinate, form and completely develop the command personnel. Party-political work must have an even more substantial impact on increasing the ability of the senior commanders and chiefs to more profoundly penetrate to the essence of life's development in the troops, to draw correct conclusions for their work and to set a personal example of high industry and moral purity.

Party-political work in the VVUZ [military institutions of higher learning] should help in improving the quality and fruitfulness of education and indoctrination and to establish strong command and organizer qualities in the future commanders, political workers and specialists. More concern must be shown for improving the organization of labor among the faculty and officer candidates, for introducing ideological questions into the training exercises and for more closely tying scientific research and TNTM [youth scientific and technical creativity] with the tasks of the troops and the VVUZ.

During the new training year, ideological indoctrination must be decisively raised to the level of the great and responsible tasks of the BNA according to the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the theoretical concepts of Comrade T. Zhivkov, the orders of the minister of national defense and the present-day exacerbated military-political situation.

Constant, purposeful and aggressive ideological activities should be carried out to explain the explosive international situation and the growing military preparations of world imperialism. Particular attention is to be paid to the military-political situation in the Balkans. A constant effort must be made to increase the vigilance of the servicemen and to allow no indifference and flippancy about the warmongering plans of the United States and NATO against the socialist commonwealth. The commanders and the political bodies are to improve all their activities in the area of developing high moral and combat qualities among the personnel and a constant readiness for decisive actions in defense of the motherland and the victories of real socialism.

A convincing description should be provided for the consistent, principled foreign policy of the USSR, Bulgaria and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth for maintaining world peace and which they are taking to increase their defense capability and the combat readiness of their armed forces. Systematic ideological work is to be done to strengthen military friendship and cooperation with the fraternal armies of the Joint Warsaw Pact Armed Forces headed by the invincible Soviet Army.

After the conclusion of the National Party Conference, they immediately began to study, analyze and introduce its decisions into troop life.

Creativity must be unleashed in the activities of the commanders and political bodies for creating and establishing a Marxist-Leninist ideology in the men as a basis of their communist indoctrination. In the exercises on Marxist-Leninist and political training, in the teaching of social sciences in the VVUZ and party schools, even more effective forms, methods and means must be widely developed and employed, they must be given a greater practical focus and mere verbatim quoting and formalism must be eradicated. The exercises should more fully bring each serviceman to a deeper understanding of party policy, to a better application of the obtained knowledge in his activities and a clearer awareness and performance of his duty.

Ideological work should help more effectively in the indoctrination of the military personnel and in improving the style and methods of their work. In them a style should be established which organically combines party principledness, high exactingness for oneself and one's subordinates, efficiency and discipline with bold entrepreneurship and professionalism subordinated to the higher goals. Using the means of ideological work, there must be a prompt and convincing explanation of the requirements of the military oath and the military regulations and the necessity of conscious military discipline, the principles of comradely relationships and closely united troop collectives. The propagandizing of legal and pedagogical knowledge among the command personnel must be strengthened.

The experience of the last year has shown that it is essential to develop even broader organizational and political work for extending the socialist competition, for achieving greater successes in combat and political training and for raising the class specialty.

The work of the commanders, staffs and political bodies must be raised to a new level for furthering the socialist competition, for overcoming the weaknesses in carrying it out and for applying high standards in assessing the fulfillment of the assumed promises. Its indoctrinational opportunities must be more widely employed for rallying and mobilizing the personnel, for increasing their activity and raising the combat readiness of the army.

It is essential to create a better organization for studying, generalizing and applying our own and Soviet advanced experience and turning it into an universal undertaking in the training and combat readiness of the troops.

The political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations are confronted with the task of working more effectively to increase among the personnel a socialist attitude toward military property and for establishing lasting habits of taking care of the weapons and combat equipment as an important conditions for high quality military service and combat readiness of the BNA.

The influence of party-political work on the strengthening of discipline must be decisively increased. All organizational and political work must be based on the carrying out of the tasks stemming from the speech of Comrade T. Zhivkov at the National Conference in Varna. "High and aware planning, contractual, production, labor, financial and foreign exchange discipline," emphasized Comrade T. Zhivkov, "discipline in everything and everywhere, the conscientious fulfilment of obligations by everyone, regardless of whether he is a worker, a specialist or a leader, are conditions without which we can make no headway in the struggle for high quality."

In accord with these requirements, the commanders, the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations are obliged to work in such a manner as to create a situation of intolerance for the violators of discipline and the squanderers of socialist property.

Many more efforts can be made to strengthen the troop and labor collectives. More concern is being shown for improving the routine and everyday conditions of the personnel.

The personal example and proper conduct of all leadership and executive personnel are of important and unique significance in carrying out this task.

The main thing in the activities of the political bodies, the economic, party and trade union leadership in the economic area for the MNO [Ministry of Public Defense] is the analysis and actual fulfillment of the tasks stemming from the National Conference in Varna for effective participation in the state and public review of the quality of production and products. A constant effort is to be made to introduce advanced production methods and a modern organization of labor and full automation as well as make effective use of raw products, materials, fuel and energy.

The struggle against negative manifestations must be constantly strengthened, they must be given a profound political assessment, ideological indoctrination should disclose their essence and harmful consequences and strong public opinion and implacability for their perpetrators must be created.

Using all the forms and means of ideological influence, the efforts of the personnel must be mobilized to worthily greet the National Party Conference, for the ubiquitous intensification and improved quality of military service and for maintaining high combat readiness of the troops.

In the diverse and specific mass political, cultural and educational work for the class-party, patriotic and military indoctrination of the personnel, fullest use must be made of the rich opportunities for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country and the establishing of the BNA. The successes achieved by our nation under the leadership of the BCP during the last four decades and the role and responsibility of the BNA in ensuring peaceful conditions for the building of a developed socialist society must be widely explained.

A stronger struggle must be waged against bourgeois ideology and the ideological subversion of imperialism, against the idolizing of things foreign and against all that is inimical to socialism. The achievements and advantages of socialism as the most progressive and just social system and as the highest social victory of mankind must be clearly and convincingly shown.

In working to carry out the Program for the Aesthetic Indoctrination of the Servicemen, more attention must be given to cultural and artistic activities in the troops, to cultured leisure of the personnel and to more fully utilizing the possibilities of the movement for cultural activities in the Armed Forces. Favorable conditions must be created for the training of the army amateur artistic collectives and for their successful participation in the final stage of the Sixth Republic Festival.

Indoctrinational work is being continued with unflagging concern and attention to strengthen the families of the servicemen and to increase the birthrate. In this regard, the role of the DNA [People's Army Club] and the women's councils is being decisively raised.

There must be no underestimation or simplistic approach to the question of the influence of religion. The class-political essence and obscurantist content of religion and its harmful influence on the spiritual growth of the individual should be aggressively and convincingly disclosed.

The organization and leadership of ideological work in the troops must be constantly improved. The basic efforts are to be focused on improving its quality and effectiveness. There must be an organic unity of ideological and organizational work, of the decisions and their fulfillment. A gap between word and deed must not be allowed. In accord with the thesis found in the report given by Comrade K. Chernenko at the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "our entire system of ideological work must function as a well-coordinated orchestra in which each instrument has its own voice, performs its own part and harmony is achieved by a skillful conductor. The sound of our propaganda must be

constantly checked against the directives of our policy and the interests of the people and we must constantly strive, as Lenin said, 'to turn the word into deed.'"

The chief measure of the quality and fruitfulness of ideological and indoctrinational work in the troops must be the level of political awareness of the men and the degree of their involvement in carrying out the tasks set by the party and the command, their military mastery and discipline and the state of combat readiness. A quantitative approach in planning, routine and primitivism in carrying out ideological campaigns must be decisively overcome.

The consistent and full involvement of the leadership in ideological work is being established as a basic form of spiritual ties with the servicemen. The content and tone of sociopolitical work are based on mutual confidence between the commanders and the men and conform to the increased spiritual needs of the personnel. Explanatory work is carried out effectively and convincingly, without excessive noise and campaigning, it should not overlook the difficulties and contradictions which are linked to the development of our society but rather explain them correctly and disclose the ways for surmounting them. A prompt answer must be given to posed questions and immediate measures taken to settle the just and legitimate requests and proposals of the servicemen.

During the current training year, the commanders and political bodies must show even greater concern and exactingness for the training and work of the ideological personnel, the leaders of the Marxist-Leninist and political study groups, the members of the lecture groups and agitation collectives. Suitable undertakings must be organized for the development of junior officers as experienced ideological workers who are most frequently in contact with the personnel. It is essential to increase their training and their ability to organize and carry out diverse ideological activities with their subordinates.

The ideological and indoctrinational work of the party and Komsomol organizations is confronted with responsible tasks. The basic one is to increase the contribution of this work to mobilizing the forces of the personnel in carrying out the set tasks of increasing the combat readiness of the troops.

The joint work of the commanders and political bodies with the local party and service bodies in the area of patriotic and military indoctrination of the youth and population is to become even more concrete in the aim of strengthening the unity between the army and the people and for increasing the combat readiness of the troops and the defense capability of the nation.

The troop units and subunits are to enrich the forms of sponsorship of the Pioneer crews, flotillas and squadrons and are to pay more attention to the defense training centers, the secondary school military-technical clubs and the paramilitary detachments.

The basic thing in the content of party organizational work will be a constant rise in the role and militancy of the primary party organizations and the turning of them into an effective political nucleus and a prototype of the future state of military and labor collectives. Chief efforts are to be focused on carrying out the tasks stemming from the speech of Comrade T. Zhivkov at the

conference in Varna, the decisions of the National Party Conference concerning an improvement in the quality of troop activities and raising the combat readiness of the BNA as well as from the requirements of the Second Army-Wide Conference for Party Secretaries.

At the forthcoming party report-election meetings and conferences, a profound and all-encompassing appraisal is to be made of the command, organizational and political work of the commanders, the political bodies and party leadership in the area of raising combat readiness.

The constant rise in the leading role and personal example of the communists everywhere and in everything will be a permanent concern for the party organizations. Particular attention is to be given to improving the quality of the party membership, to creating a party nucleus in the small troop and labor collectives, to indoctrinating the young communists and training the party aktiv.

The political bodies, the deputy commanders for political affairs, the party and Komsomol leadership are to improve the quality and fruitfulness of their work with the youth and Komsomol in carrying out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, the 14th Komsomol Congress, the National Party Conference and the Sixth Army-Wide Conference on Komsomol Work.

Activities must be developed with unflagging force to further carry out the demands found in the Letter of Comrade T. Zhivkov to the Komsomol Central Committee and in the Long-Range Program of the MNO and the Main Political Directorate of the People's Army and in the materials of the Seventh Army-Wide Conference on Komsomol Work for allowing the army youth to show its diverse talents in military service and for its communist indoctrination.

In this regard, a greater role is to be played by the initiative "Scientific-Technical Progress and Advanced Experience--The Territory of Youth Daring" for enriching the content of Komsomol work and for increasing its share in the struggle for high quality military service. The Komsomol leadership must make abler use of the international youth relay "Memory" and the April check on class-party, patriotic, international and military indoctrination of the youth for increasing the militancy of the Komsomol groups and improving individual work with each Komsomol soldier.

The political bodies and party organizations are to improve leadership of the Komsomol and they are to make a greater effort to raise its role as the political organization and the leader of the youth and for increasing the share of the youth and their contribution to each organization and group for maintaining constant and high combat readiness.

Greater cooperation must be achieved between the commanders, the political bodies, the deputy commanders for political affairs, the party leadership and the trade union organizations in the area of further carrying out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions under BNA conditions. There must be an organized conclusion to the review of the effectiveness of the primary trade union organizations and an increased role played by them in the life of the troop and labor collectives.

The struggle to improve the intensification of production and military service and to effectively carry out the construction-production programs must hold the central place in the work of the trade union leadership and organizations.

The content of trade union work must be even more closely linked to the production and service tasks of the men and labor collectives. They must make a greater contribution to increasing the combat readiness of the army, to strengthening labor discipline and the indoctrination of military employees.

During the 1983-1984 training year, all party-political work must be carried out under the motto: "In Honor of the National Party Conference and the 40th Anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria and of the BNA and High Political Vigilance and Constant Combat Readiness in Response to the Aggressive Actions of Imperialism."

10272

CSO: 2200/38

PRESS TREATING TOPICS CENSORED FOR DECADES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by Tibor Hajdu: "From Sarajevo to Trianon"]

[Text] One of the characteristic features of voluntarism in the 1950s was a belief in keeping silent: those things which we do not write about will not occur to the reader. On some questions the comfortable illusion of the magic power of silence continues to prevail even today.

It was not until the mid-1960s--after two decades of self-imposed and involuntary silence--that Hungarian historiography first began to tie the Trianon peace treaty into the system of interrelationships of our modern history. (The only book that has addressed this subject specifically appeared in 1965: it was Zsuzsa L. Nagy's pioneering work, entitled "The Paris Peace Conference and Hungary, 1918-1919")

Right now I have 3 new books before me: the central topic of all three is an examination of the Trianon peace treaty. Rather than reviewing them, I will simply quote a few facts from them: facts pertaining to the events that had led to Trianon. Maria Ormos' monograph, entitled "From Padova to Trianon, 1918-1920" has been published here at home by Kossuth Publishers. The second work, a massive volume, entitled "Studies about WWI: Total War and Peace Making; Trianon--A Case Study" was published in New York by Brooklyn College. Among its 33 authors we find Marxist historians from our country, Hungarian researchers living in the West representing a broad spectrum of political trends, but also some English, Romanian and Israeli professors. The book is a clear example that a topic of such importance can bring together two worlds and a wide variety of world views. Although the third volume only devotes a part of its research to our subject, it does so all the more thoroughly. It was written by the two sons of R.W. Seton-Watson about their father, who had played a significant role in the drawing of the borders.

Seton-Watson (remembered better by the older generation as Scotus Viator) had been vilified by many between the two wars and even before WWI. It was during the very year of the political crisis of 1905-1906 that the wealthy, young self-made Scotch scientist first visited Austria and Hungary. With the objectivity of an outside observer he had recognized

that the political system of the monarchy was an anachronism that had outlived itself, and had soon become a biased champion of equality for the Romanian and Slav peoples; biased in the sense that for a long time he had failed to recognize that just as the Hungarian ruling classes, the Hungarian people also had interests of their own. The Scotus Viator ("the travelling Scotsman") had hoped to find a solution to the nationality question within the Monarchy, as did his Slovak and Romanian friends who had put their faith in the heir to the throne, Francis Ferdinand; in fact, one of his informers Vajda-Voevod, who was later to become prime minister of Romania, would have even agreed to the crowning of Francis Ferdinand to be king of Romania in order to ensure the "trialization" of the dualist Habsburg Monarchy. In 1910 it was still with astonishment that the Scotus Viator wrote in his diary: the Slavophile politicians of Herzegovina "still believe in, and continue to hope for a European war, placing their trust in the rivalry between the Western powers and Germany, particularly in that between Britain and Germany," expecting it to bring about the great clash that would lead to the destruction of the Monarchy.

The coffee-house politicians of Herzegovina had seen farther ahead through the smoke of their chibouks than had the best minds of Europe, and by the time their prediction materialized in 1914, the Scotus Viator was already in support of breaking up the Monarchy.

"The solutions which I have been proposing--Southern Slav, Hungarian--have died a natural, or rather a very much unnatural death at midnight, the day before yesterday--he wrote to his wife on 6 August 1914.--Hereafter, the creation of a Great-Serbian state has become inevitable, hence we must bring it about--Dalmacia, Bosnia, Croatia and Istria must be united with Serbia: in working out the final settlement, however, we must preserve the Zagreb national assembly. Romania must be given everything that is Romanian."

The reason I am quoting from this letter written in that decisive moment is because there are still many people in our country who believe that it was only towards the end of the war or that it was as a result of the revolutions that the leading circles of the great powers, including Britain of all powers, first began to think seriously about dismembering Hungary. This despite the fact, that if there was one thing that justified the war of the Hungarian ruling classes and Tisza's wavering decision, it was precisely the protection of these borders. The above quotation was accurately interpreted by the authors of the biography: "it was a program that called for the amputation rather than the destruction of the Monarchy." (Amputation vs. destruction) And they go on to add: it would have been another question depending on the given conditions, whether the patient would live through the amputation.

In 1914, Seton-Watson and other Central-Europe experts (Wickham Steed and others) represented still only one British view, that of the supporters of a radical solution. There were many conservative diplomats, of all people, who considered the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to be one of the key elements in the European balance. It is the detailed description of

the behind-the-scenes struggles and developments between these two positions which makes this book by the Seton-Watson brothers so interesting for us. At first the Western powers had been much more cautious than their ally, czarist Russia. When in 1915 Seton-Watson visited Bucharest as a semi-official representative of the foreign secretary he learned to his amazement "that the Russian government had promised to support the unification of Romania and Transylvania after the victory, asking only that Romania remain neutral in return." (This happened at the same time when the German ally was pressing Tisza in vain to promise Romania something--for this same neutrality.)

The next round of the game began with Italy's entry into the war on the Entente side at the price of a secret agreement signed in London, promising Southern Tyrol and Trieste to the new ally. We know that there were some groups within the Hungarian parliament opposition--Albert Apponyi on the one hand, and Mihaly Karolyi and Gyula Andrassy on the other--who by way of secret agents had tried to talk Italian foreign minister Sonnino out of declaring a war, but they were only to be shrugged off with a sarcastic reply: "se Dio non fa miracolo--fa guerra." (If God can do wonders, there will be war.) Despite this, during the next diplomatic round aimed at bringing Bulgaria into the war, Sonnino protested against promising Croatia and Northern Dalmacia to Serbia, arguing that if Hungary were to decide to secede from Austria in order to pull out of the war, it would have to be assured an outlet to the sea. Sonnino, of course, had his own ulterior motives--he wanted to weaken future Yugoslavia even before it was created, and continued to pursue this goal until the signing of the peace treaty in anticipation of its future claims to Trieste and its Southern Slav-inhabited surrounding region. Even so, the hope for a Hungarian pull-out was considerable even as an excuse--in 1915 it still could have brought a price had the opposition been able to defeat Tisza.

What did Bulgaria have to do with Fiume? In August 1915, in a secret memorandum, the Entente offered Bulgaria a part of the Greek coast, reaching from Soloniki to the East, and a portion of Macedonia in return for a pledge not to fight on the side of the Axis powers (Germany and the Monarchy). Serbia had to be given something in exchange for this Macedonian region, so the Entente officially offered Serbia an area to which its claim had already been tacitly recognized: Bosnia, Herzegovina, Syrmia, Bacska and the southern part of Dalmacia. Seton-Watson and his friends were infuriated upon learning that Croatia had been left out, which had been a decision supported not only by Italy but also by czarist Russia which, even though it had been all for the liberation of Slavic peoples, would have liked to see the creation of an Orthodox Great Serbia and had no sympathy for the Catholic Croats. Finally, the Russian and British diplomatic services (behind the back of their Italian ally) told the Serbian prime minister: if after the end of the war Croatia would wish to unite with Serbia, they would have no objections.

At that time no mention had yet been made of Czechoslovakia. In October 1916, with financial support from Masaryk who had been living in exile, launched his influential periodical, entitled NEW EUROPE, in which he boldly,

yet carefully combined the information he had been receiving with the propagation of his views and those of his friends. (Why did the Hungarian national parties not have such periodicals in Switzerland or elsewhere? There would have been enough money, but no one had the necessary resolve.) On 14 December 1916, Seton-Watson wrote the following in NEW EUROPE: as a result of various treaties and promises "the British government is committed to what amounts to in effect nothing less than the disruption of Austria-Hungary, which some of its most ardent supporters are still unwilling to accept." In short, there were still many British conservatives who could not imagine a European balance without the Monarchy. Then came American president Wilson's appeal to the warring countries asking them to disclose their previously carefully veiled military objectives. Section VIII of the Entente's reply, dated 10 January 1917, states: "the liberation of Italians as well as Slavs, Romanians and Czechoslovaks from under foreign rule."

The real new element in this was the liberation of Czechoslovaks from under foreign rule. Our historical writings dealing with WWI (most recently even Volume 7 of "The History of Hungary") like to give the impression that this "was not intended to mean the creation of an independent state;" nevertheless, from the point of view of Hungary this is what the unification of Slovakia and Bohemia meant, even if this new state had not been granted full independence. Whether or not these promises would be fulfilled, of course, depended on the outcome of the war. Already before the war, in October 1914, Masaryk had Seton-Watson convinced that the creation of a Czechoslovak state was both justified and necessary, but "Masaryk understook perfectly well that independence could only be achieved after the Allies have decisively defeated Germany. In the case of a peace by compromise the Czechs would have to be satisfied with greater autonomy within the Habsburg Monarchy."

The New York volume of studies contains several important essays on the compromise attempts of 1917 and the decision of 1918. I would like to call special attention to an excellent work by professor Thomas L. Sakmyster of the University of Cincinnati, entitled "Great Britain and the Trianon Peace Treaty." Sakmyster explores the tremendous differences of opinion that had been voiced in British diplomatic circles regarding the future of the Monarchy. While the disruption propaganda advocated by Wicham Steed and Seton-Watson had made a great impression on the young and middle-aged members of the diplomatic corps, there was at least one influential, albeit not exactly pro-Hungarian young man in the person of Harold Nicolson, the writer and diplomat (the story goes that his mother had run away with a Hungarian cavalry officer while his father was serving as consul in Budapest), who in 1915 was still cautioning his colleagues against making unreasonable promises to the allies if they wanted to avoid "sowing the seeds of future conflicts" in Hungary.

In 1917 "there was a sharp shift in British policy toward Austria-Hungary"--however, this was merely a tactical and temporary move. In early 1918, writes Sakmyster, "although no specific decision had been made by the

government or the prime minister regarding the break-up of Austria-Hungary, they had started an irreversable trend that led to this result step by step." The responsibility for drawing up border recommendations had been entrusted to experts of proper political inclination, such as Seton-Watson, who was mainly responsible for the Hungarian borders.

Seton-Watson took out the last official document on British Eastern European policy, prepared by the chief of foreign policy intelligence W. Tyrrell and one of his colleagues. According to the Tyrrell-Paget memorandum, Hungary would lose Transylvania and Croatia, but would be able to retain control over Bacska-Banat and the Northern Carpathians. Two historic years had gone by since then: Seton-Watson's plan already contained a reference to an independent Czechoslovakia. After attempting to separate Hungarian and non-Hungarian regions according to ethnic lines, he drew a "grey zone" between them in places which contained disputed and mixed areas. He wanted to place these areas under international supervision until the drawing of precise borders at the peace conference. This "grey zone" was to include the Csallokoz and the northern bank of the Danube, Szatmar, Bihar and Arad counties, a part of Bacska, Southern Baranya, etc.

There was surprisingly little difference between the final British proposal that had been drafted on the basis of these recommendations, and the American plan. There were many in Hungary who misunderstood President Wilson's policy--points out one of the volume's studies on the American peace plans (written by Sandor Taraszovics). Subsequently, therefore, it became customary--and in our country it is still fashionable --to belittle Wilson's messages and speeches about national self-determination and to dismiss them as propaganda. Wilson, the founder of the concept of American world power, was thinking in long-range terms, and showed little interest in the details of a Central European settlement; this, however, did not mean that after the U.S. had entered the war he did not take the demands of his allies into account. Immediately after the U.S. had entered the war in April 1917, British foreign secretary, Balfour arrived in Washington to inform Wilson and his government in detail about all existing secret treaties and agreements. According to Balbour's statement, "Austria will surrender Bosnia-Herzegovina to Serbia.... Romania would receive certain areas of Russia and a part of Transylvania. The Austro-Hungarian Empire will turn into three states: Bohemia, Hungary and Austria."

What could Wilson have said in reply? More than likely he kept silent when the secret treaties were discussed in his presence; he did not recognize them as binding, but neither did he object to them as did Soviet Russia (which as one of its first acts published all of the secret diplomatic documents it had in its possession that pertained to the world war. Later these were published in several world languages--they are yet to appear in Hungarian.)

Wilson did not join any secret negotiations regarding the repartitioning of Europe. His 14 points and other statements avoid giving the impression of precluding such agreements. His secretary of state, Lansing, however, did take note of the Entente's ideas and prepared his plans accordingly. In a memorandum, dated 29 May 1918, he called on Wilson to accept the break-up of the monarchy, which the president immediately agreed to do. Even the Allies themselves were surprised when they received the finalized U.S. plan of January 1919 concerning the future borders of Hungary.

Although the British and American plans had been somewhat more favorable than the border drawn at Trianon, on the remaining issues of dispute the peace delegations soon accepted a compromise, which in general did not favor Hungary. In her book, unlike others, Maria Ormos attempts to show how little difference there was among the official British, American and French proposals that had been presented in the course of the committee meetings held between February and May 1919 for the purpose of arriving at a detailed definition of the borders. The French military circles who supported the granting of the maximum Romanian and Czechoslovak demands (Salgotarjan, etc.) did not even enjoy the backing of the French diplomatic corps. Typical of the situation was the fact, that at a committee meeting held on 27 February it was the American delegate himself who proposed--contrary to the original American plan--that the Carpathian Ukraine be ceded to Czechoslovakia. Only the Italian delegate tried to object to this. (The date suggests that even the adjustment that was carried out in the strategically important Carpathian Ukraine was not a move that could be considered a "punishment" for the Soviet Republic. Ormos firmly maintains that the case of Burgenland notwithstanding, 21 March was not a factor anymore in the determination of Hungarian borders.)

In her book, incidentally, which she has written using vast amounts of French source materials, Ormos presents a considerably different picture of France's role than what we have come to know, and attempts to refute views that put French imperialism in a darker light than any other. However, even she does not deny that French policy was unequivocally in support of Hungary's enemies. Hence she emphasizes: the reason they had permitted the requested areas to be occupied before the signing of the peace treaty was not because this could have affected the final decision, but because they had wanted to prevent Jaszi's democratic nationality policy and the Karolyi government's achievements from succeeding in the disputed areas.

We learn many interesting things about the inner disagreements between France's diplomatic services and its high command. While general Berthelot, who had been in command of the Eastern front, was firmly in support of Romanian demands, Franchet d'Esperey and his staff responsible for Hungary, and even the man who has been of such baneful memory for us, lieutenant-colonel Vix, all tried to show some understanding of Hungary's catastrophic situation. Ormos convincingly refutes all legends according to which the signing of a "separate" armistice in Belgrade was supposed to have depended

on a good or a bad decision on the part of Karolyi or Franchet d'Esperey; the text of both armistices, i.e. of the one signed at Padova for the Italian front and of the one signed at Belgrade which applied directly to the Balkan front and therefore to Hungary, had been drafted in Paris and delivered by courier to the commanding generals, who did not change a single sentence in them.

In describing the severe restrictions that were placed on the Karolyi government's latitude of movement, Ormos' strongest criticism is aimed at the so-called Berthelot-Apathy agreement which resulted in the ceding of Kolozsvár at Christmas, because it had preceded the Paris order which, of course, would have arrived shortly anyway. Otherwise, however, destiny had been moving along pre-laid tracks--the terms dictated at Trianon came from an already prepared text. Ormos as well as others have claimed that before the signing of the Trianon peace treaty--Wilson by then had long left the peace conference--British prime minister Lloyd George had been taken aback for a moment, affected perhaps by Apponyi's speech, or maybe because it was only at that point that he was first able to visualize the new map of Europe. But this no longer had any actual significance: the experts of the Foreign Office were not paying attention to speeches, and the borders which by that time had been coordinated for a year could no longer be changed. Not even by resorting to the fist-rule of forceful occupation, as it was tried in Pécs and Salgotarjan. In vain did foreign troops try to delay the evacuation of Debrecen for several months. Paris had made its decision.

It was the victorious powers who made the decisions: this is what happened, even though for a long time the facts may have been eclipsed by the romantic propaganda of small-power nationalism. For occasionally we still encounter illusion-filled speculations (most recently in the American Trianon volume) about what would have happened had the Karolyi government decided to stand up to the victors with a few divisions.

It is also a fact, that our neighbors have never considered the Paris reports popular reading, for they were always taught: it was an assertion of the will of peoples awakening to their consciousness and of the decisions made by national councils and mass rallies....The following are also facts: when we come right down to it, in the long run wars and negotiations may come and pass, but it is the democracy of the masses which finally decides, and today there are much fewer minorities in Europe than there were at the turn of the century; such is the course of history. In the final analysis, the 20th century is the century of nations, masses, democracy and socialism. The Trianon borders, however, as they actually exist were decided not by mass rallies or even by abstract truths, but rather by the totality of a temporary balance of power.

Were the authors of the treaty satisfied with their work? If we read their memoirs, from the Wilsonites to Lloyd George or Harold Nicolson, we have to conclude that they were not. Although they were drawing the

borders seemingly freely, they did very much what the given situation demanded. Even before the treaty was signed, in January 1920 Seton-Watson hailed the new, more ethnic principle-oriented borders in his paper, but even he noted: "In some of its clauses, the settlement is unduly harsh to the Hungarians," and he even tells us where. Later, in the 1920s he was opposed to the various revisionist plans; however, in 1928 he sent a 33-page memorandum to his old friends Masaryk and Benes concerning the complaints of their Hungarian minority. Exactly one decade before Munich--at that time, perhaps, it still would not have been too late....

9379

CSO: 2500/91

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Lublin's Scientific Community Discussed

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Doc Henryk Domzal, PZPR Lublin Province Committee secretary, by Leslaw Grot; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the first part of our interview published last month we concentrated mainly on the problems of education. Today, on the day before the academic year begins, we would like to consider several of the more important problems of the scientific community and our higher institutions of learning. I will start with that which has caused much emotion lately, that is, the omission of Lublin from the list of future leading scientific centers of Poland. If that came about, then the news mongering malice about the "provincial universities" probably is intentional. To us, who treat the developments of Lublin's science as an obvious indication of the progress of Lublin in People's Poland, this was quite shocking. This paper expressed this feeling. Lublin has been included in the group of leading, developing centers. However, without emotion and local ambition, it is worthwhile asking ourselves the question: What is the real importance and role of the Lublin center in training cadres as well as in scientific research?

[Answer] That was a justified reaction. Our echelons also reacted strongly in this matter, sending an appropriate memo to the authorities. Such an evaluation was unacceptable not because it was bitter and offensive to our local pride, but because it was simply wrong, untrue, contrary to the national interest and the good of Polish science.

What does the Lublin scientific center consist of? Considering only the data of the state educational institutions, it consists of 4 institutions of higher learning having 18 departments, and 55 institutes, not counting the auxiliary and administrative units. Last year 16,069 full-time day students studied at these educational institutions, and over 24,800 students took advantage of all types of training in Lublin's institutions of higher learning. This great machine is served by 7,463 employees, including 331 academics.

[Question] But this still says nothing about quality.

[Answer] Let us reckon with quality another way. In our community we have 49 full professors, 123 associate professors, 240 docents habilitatus, 55 docents and 10 doctors habilitatus. This is a total of 477 independent researchers. To this let us add still another 1,137 lecturers, 273 senior instructors and 967 assistants and senior assistants.

Last year was a year of exceptional harvest when 157 doctorates, 19 habilitatus doctorates and 13 full professorships and 28 associate professorships were conferred.

Thus, it is unjust to denigrate the great efforts of Lublin's scientific community.

[Question] A dozen or so years ago I participated in some sort of commission that conducted dialogues with scientists. I remember the replies of one of the worthy professors that "the old prewar cadre is approaching the end of its scientific activities, but successors somehow are not to be seen." But in the meantime, numerous cadres appeared during that time that especially assured average appointments for the institutes. I believe that from this community new, outstanding individuals who are leaders in such and other kind of fields are now emerging from the "Lublin school."

[Answer] The statement that in the past years we have developed an extensive base of middle-level scientists continues to be true. This is actually what assures a broad cadre base to our institutes and other scientific units. But I would like to venture that we do not have to wait for the scientific individualism of the "Lublin school" in various fields of knowledge. This specific individualism already exists! Of course, there are some scientists who associate output with themselves exclusively, but truly outstanding scientists want to and will train worthy successors.

I do not feel justified to present any kind of censures. The examples I give here can apply to tens of others that are no less worthy and just as convincing.

Can one not speak about the Lublin school of philosophy in the context of such names as Prof Narcyz Lubnicki and his successors--Prof Zdzislaw Cackowski and Docent Jerzy Czarnecki, or about state law in the context of such names as Profs Leopold Seidler and Henryk Groszyk?

Let us consider the AM's [Academy of Medicine] Prof Tadeusz Krwawicz, an ophthalmologist, and also Prof Kazimierz Gerkowicz, Prof Barbara Szwarc and many other individuals. In cardiology, Prof Tadeusz Kedra trained a whole group of successors, such as Prof Marian Markiewicz, Docent Teresa Widomska-Czekajska and Docent Barbara Koiber-Postepska.

In internal medicine, we have Prof Alfred Tuszkiewicz and a whole group of his alumni who today are operating their own institutes and clinics: Prof Jan Kowalski, Prof Janusz Hanslik and Prof Jan Pokora.

[Question] And what about your own alma mater, Mr Secretary?

[Answer] I could provide many such examples for the AR [Agricultural Academy]. I will name at least Prof Ewald Sasimowski and Prof Wladyslaw Zalewski as well as those of another generation: Prof Janusz Haman, Prof Jacek Orzechowski and the large group of Prof Bohdan Dobraszewski's alumni and successors: Prof Ryszard Turski, Prof Saanislav Uzniak, Prof Saturnin Zawadzki and Prof Jan Glinski.

Even in the newest Lublin school, the Polytechnic, such scientists as Prof Wlodzimierz Sitko or Prof Iwo Polo have a large number of alumni who are ambitious and talented.

[Question] That is really quite a list!

[Answer] Once more I must stipulate that it is not a list of leaders but of examples. One could most certainly multiply this list many times over! But this of course is not the only criterion of the scientific worth of our cadres. Let us consider some scientific achievements: Prof Tadeusz Wilgat's splendid work in cartography, Prof Andrzej Waksmundzki's work in fiberscopes and many others.

If we consider the number of patents awarded, then the Polytechnic and the AR lead decidedly in comparison with analagous schools in other centers.

Many of our scientists, for example, Prof Edmund Prost of the AR, Prof Tadeusz Krwawicz of the AM and many others are members of foreign scientific associations. Many scientific conferences and congresses are held in Lublin.

[Question] Cadres are a decisive factor. However, one must not neglect the continuous development of the base. When the library was under construction (considered at that time to be an interschool library) there was much talk about its great size. Today there is not enough room even for the university's main collection.

[Answer] It is good that this matter has arisen because here we have to deal with a very symptomatic phenomenon. The material base of the scientific center, whose momentum at one time was shocking, does not now meet the center's tremendous needs. You mention here, and rightly so, the library--that it is too crowded, but this also applies to the entire academic district. In the years in which it came into being, the academic district was probably the only one or certainly one of a very few in the country. Today, as a matter of fact, not counting the dispersed buildings, we have the UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University], AM and Polytechnic complexes and the start of the AR center. But needs are increasing faster than the walls that are being constructed. In general it can be said that the available space is quite insufficient. The space problem for the AM Department of Stomatology, which for years has been installed in a remodeled health clinic, is especially dramatic,; also that of the AR, which began building its center on Celina Street when the deepening crisis began to hamper the development of this investment more and more.

[Question] Would not a policy of some limitations be apt in this situation?

[Answer] No, because the rational use of that which we already have requires replenishment instead of, as they say in industry, the elimination of bottlenecks. Of course our scientific-research base is very rich and has much potential and should be used properly.

Of the other problems, I would like to bring up the problem of our center's unsatisfactory publication-polygraphic base. If we are not properly appreciated, it may also be because many valuable scientific works cannot be published quickly enough. The ANNALES is the only integral publication, and the university's small printing-house is not equal to the task. With today's tempo of scientific development, we cannot allow scientific works to wait years to be printed and distributed. Under these conditions we lose much.

[Question] Speaking about the Lublin's scientific community, we think most of all about the schools. But we also have independent institutions.

[Answer] Yes, that is true. But this awareness does not apply to the general public. Right now 13 scientific research institutions are functioning in our province, of which 5 are independent ministerial institutions while the remaining are local branches or experimental-implementation stations of institutions known all over the country. In these institutions, which now employ over 2,000 people, there is much scientific cadre potential having varied professional abilities, because it consists of 80 professors and docents and about 500 lecturers and assistants. The material base also has much potential in that it contains laboratories enabling the resolution of problems that are important to the economy of the country and of our region.

Here, for example, we can name the Pulawski institutions: the Institute of Agriculture, Fertilization and Deep Earth Studies; the Institute of Veterinary Medicine; the Institute of Chemical Fertilizers; the Department of Agriculture of the Institute of Fruit Farming and Floriculture; Lublin's Witold Chodzki Institute of Rural Medical Practices and Hygiene; the Agrophysics Institution, the only PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] institution in Lublin; and a future institution, such as the Main Department of the Mining Institute.

Even the briefest description of their work surpasses the framework of this interview and is a problem for me. Moreover, it is worth announcing these institutions give evidence of their value by their numerous state and ministerial awards. Last year we obtained two state awards and numerous PAN, ministerial and scientific association awards.

[Question] Let us now proceed to another area in this matter. What are the current attitudes in our scientific community? A dozen or so months ago things were not well in this respect. The attitudes of some scientists were decidedly negative and party organizations were in disarray. What progress has been noted in this area?

[Answer] In reality, the scientific community lived through an especially difficult and sad time in the recent past.

But here I would like to caution against generalizations that are a bit too rash, placing the entire community in one bag. First, a not inconsiderable number of scientists did not allow themselves to be carried away with emotions and retained proper attitudes and viewpoints. Perhaps this was not sensed vis-a-vis the aggressive attitudes of our opponents, but this is the way it really was. Second, although party organizations incurred severe losses, they managed to survive despite the severe, desperate attacks and in principle discovered enough internal strength to overcome the revisionist, liquidation tendencies and to develop for themselves a program of renewal and reconstruction in accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress.

Presently we are seeing those same processes in the community that characterize society as a whole. Calm is returning, a return to realistic thinking; the broken links of trust and cooperation are being restored. About 1,490 party members work in this community. Party organizations as well as individual people who often occupy managerial positions in various school cells are respected as authorities. For example, in the secret elections for directors of AR institutions, 40 percent of the positions were won by party members. At this school two deans are party members and one is a ZSL [United Peasant Party] member. Of the four members of the Main Council for Higher Education, two are also party members. Party organizations have their say in many important decisions and undertakings. The school statutes that were developed during the course of heated, unconstrained discussions contain appropriate regulations establishing the socialist character of the schools and their scientific as well as indoctrinational functions. In this regard the AM and Polytechnic statutes are recognized as exemplary.

But we should not become smug and unconcerned. There is still much to be done in the schools. The influence of foreign forces that are our enemies should not be treated lightly. Some people have not surmounted prejudices, doubts and ill will. Considering the influence scientists have over youth and over other communities, these are important matters. In accordance with this, it seems to me that more attention should be paid primarily to activities in two areas:

First, greater weight should be attached to the attitudes of party members--scientists in all fields of activity, the school authorities, and those working with and contacting youth in social life and all forms of public actions.

Second, greater concern should be paid to real social and indoctrinational actions of the whole community, paying attention to the attitudes of all academic teachers. In accordance with the essence of their sworn pledges and their duties, state employees cannot limit themselves to transmitting professional knowledge. They must also be educators of young people, shaping their attitudes not only by words but above all by their own examples

vis-a-vis the need for social action and of identifying themselves with the socialist ideals of the state.

There are many symptoms that give evidence that such attitudes are being adopted more and more. This process must be expanded and strengthened.

[Question] What about youth affairs?

[Answer] It is a bit early for any kind of firm evaluation. We also had a very serious crisis in these circles that led to well-defined feelings and attitudes which in turn produced such phenomena as student strikes and the disintegration of many structures of student socioidoological organizations. Presently these organizations are in the process of being rebuilt on new, healthy principles. They are very necessary. They are the vital tool for shaping the political and ideological attitudes of young people, and at the same time they are a school for social action and civic thinking. We are also noting the rebuilding of organizations for the younger students, which is especially important. Striving for the good traditions and accomplishments of the youth movement is another positive characteristic. For example, the Rural Youth Union is expanding quite rapidly at the AR, and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], which till now has been absent at the university and the polytechnic, is now making a comeback. The reactivated Polish Student Association, whose tempo of rebuilding so far has been unsatisfactory, is building up its ranks in the mass socioprofessional student organization. But there is hope that in applying attractive, verified forms of activity, it will attract most young students in a year or two. As a party we attach great weight to these matters, and by not interfering in the organization's independence we desire to provide them the most far reaching help and support.

At this time I would like to discuss a matter about which many false ideas and views had developed lately. It concerns the social composition of young students. Thus, this year, 25 percent of Polytechnic's first-year students are from working-class backgrounds and 10 percent from peasant backgrounds. Relative to the AR, these same indices are 16.6 and 32.2 percent, respectively. It should be remembered that workers in commerce, the primary cells of the administration, and the children of people who to a great extent are either laborers or farmers, qualify as belonging to the intelligentsia group. Thus it would be more valid, though more difficult, to define access to the institutions of higher learning for youth from the various social classes and professional groups. I believe it is worthwhile to work this out.

[Question] It seems that the coming academic year should be a period of integration for the scientific community and of mending the broken threads of understanding and cooperation with the entire political, economic and social organism. Is this hope justified?

[Answer] In light of all that was discussed here, I believe such a hope can be expressed. The scientific community is not an isolated social group. But

perhaps, because of its character, it is a more sensitive barometer of social attitudes. Because the process of stabilization and detente is generally continuing, it will also be the same in the scientific communities. This is very necessary; it is a requisite to develop science further, to increase its role and meaning in our life, to realize that which at one time a poet called "a powerful key." Altering the poetic affectation, it certainly is an important key to renew, normalize and develop life in our country.

Comments on Krakow Ideological Indoctrination Center

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dr Marian Wasilewski, director of the PZPR Krakow Committee's Center for Ideological Training, by Krzysztof Cielenkiewicz]

[Text] [Question] If you please, Comrade, I recall at the start of our interview the bitter reflection, the opinion or perhaps the question of one of our HIL [Lenin Steelworks] workers, whom both of us had occasion to hear out during the recent plenary session of the then existing PZPR factory committee. His question was: When will party training classes finally cease to be occasions for sleeping in corners?

[Answer] That is an extreme description of the problem...

[Question] I agree, it is extreme. But it expresses in plain words the weakness of the then existing training system that caused definite harm to the party.

[Answer] And--take my word for it--it is something we are trying very hard to change. But we have just started on the path to correcting such an opinion, which I admit does exist. We also want to strengthen the conviction that the entire party, all echelons and all members, are responsible for ideological work. It is necessary to raise ideological work and training in the party to the proper level, the level expected by the members and required by the political situation.

[Question] How can this level be raised?

[Answer] There are several elements involved. I can start with that which will be created by a POP [primary party organization] itself concerning the atmosphere surrounding training. The concern here is that training should not only be a statutory obligation but also an authentic requirement permitting party members to become involved in effect in the complex economic and sociopolitical realities of our country.

[Question] The statutory obligation to provide training is enforced quite easily, but how can the effectiveness of this training be assured and ascertained?

[Answer] Enforcement is only part of the success and it should be kept up, at least for the sake of party discipline. As a basic matter, however, training should be effective. For training to provide a solid base of knowledge, it should--and I emphasize this in particular--stimulate

discussions, arguments and controversy. After leaving a meeting--a lively one, with multilevel discussions--the participants should have a desire to learn on their own, to seek out literature on the given subject matter. It is absolutely essential that discussions should not be held in corners and lobbies but rather at party meetings because that, of course, is where they should take place.

[Question] One of the basic elements of party training effectiveness is also its theme ...

[Answer] A theme, but speaking more broadly it is a program. Of prime consideration is that the problem discussed at meetings and the interpretation of events cannot be at variance with the realities of life, or speaking more broadly, with the experiences of party members. It is an essential condition; to ignore it will produce results counter to the desired ones.

[Question] I agree. The contents of training should not be at odds with reality, which should be transformed and not ignored.

[Answer] And this ignoring of reality cannot be and will not be if we want our ideological work to be more effective. But there is another danger: the limiting of training work to a group of themes or problems that are specifically the center of interest of the members of a given POP because of, for example, professional reasons and neglecting through silence equally important matters.

[Question] And no less important and perhaps even more complex in transmission when it concerns such important problems as the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

[Answer] That is why--and here is a bit of news about the coming school year--we want the entire party to encompass a basic and universal form of party training as exemplified by ideological meetings. This form was verified last year, of course, not on as wide a scale as we want to do in the coming school year.

Therefore, in order to eliminate the mentioned danger, let us say, of such a narrow view of training work and at the same time to satisfy in a flexible way the expectations of PZPR members, this year we will introduce into the program for POP ideological meetings two segments: the obligatory themes and supplementary themes for the following communities: teachers; employees of the PAN and the schools of higher learning; people in the field of art and culture; and the rural population. Without going into too much detail at this moment, after all these proposals were published in your GAZETA KRAKOWSKA several days ago, I believe that it is a rich and varied offering.

[Question] An offering addressed to the entire party, to its members as listeners, debaters. Let us discuss those who will implement it, the party training instructors.

[Answer] The effectiveness and results of ideological work will depend on the substantial knowledge and perhaps most of all on the methodological and didactic know-how of the instructors and lecturers. But one aspect that will undoubtedly affect effectiveness is that most party training instructors are "new" people. Of course, they have the knowledge as well as the authority in their own communities, which we want to emphasize in particular. However, this does not mean that all instructors are people who are just starting in this form of party activity. Many comrades are still there who have been engaged in this work for several years now. And we are making special use of their experiences--all of us workers in the party's ideological front.

[Question] Knowledge and authority are necessary conditions in this work, but there are other conditions. One has to know how to make contact with the listeners, to speak clearly and to conduct lessons in an interesting way.

[Answer] Of course, suitable didactic-methodological preparations are in fact needed. And relative to the group of party training instructors in the POP's about 850 individuals, these tremendous tasks rest with our Ideological Indoctrination Center of the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee], the district centers for ideological-indoctrinational work and the ROPP's [regional party work centers]. I must add that these tasks will grow because the number of instructors, as I said, should be doubled such that every POP has its own instructor. This could be assured by systematic training work, the possibility of specialization of themes, greater exchange of "thematically specialized" instructors among the POP's and so forth.

[Question] Let us discuss those tasks. How do you intend to help the instructors?

[Answer] We must provide them with tools of the trade, that is, with synopses that make it easier for them to broach a theme, and audio-visual aids, some of which we already possess, that will enable them to make training more attractive. We also will supply literature; our library, which is now opening for business, will play a big role here. This library offers not only a collection of books but also research services, and actively encourages instructors to make use of source materials and so forth.

We also are organizing a significant number of courses, training classes and consultations for instructors and lecturers. In other words, we are not leaving them to fend for themselves because it is our experience that a good instructor does not come into being just on his own. It takes several years to adapt him to this activity.

[Question] Thus we have source materials, and the cadre of instructors and lecturers is growing. These are basic elements without which ideological work could not be conducted. But ...

[Answer] Actually what you want to ask is: Is that all? Of course not! Every theme has a synopsis.

[Question] A synopsis that can be read at meetings?

[Answer] Of course it can. But what will result? Certainly not that which we are attempting to achieve, that is, the result for certain will not be achieved completely. Therefore, whether the instructor just reads the synopsis or will want to achieve more is very important. Will he make use of source materials, prepare his lecture so that it is interesting, and make use of all those elements we discussed? In other words, will he become interested in the theme or not?

[Question] Of course, ideology is a function that decides the party's identity and internal links.

[Answer] Ideology also is the party. Thus it has great significance for its organizational competence and militancy, functions that the party discharges, that is the function of leadership and management. Speaking of the party's organizational competence, this competence should also manifest itself vis-a-vis the efficient organizational preparation of training activities. This is an element that is often unappreciated to the detriment of our expected results.

[Question] Comrade Director, let us return to my first question: Will that bitter reflection of that HiL worker to whom we listened uneasily become history?

[Answer] My reply is: it should. It must. Much effort is now being devoted by the entire party to the problem of ideological work. In addition, lately the Executive Board of the PZPR Krakow Committee has become seriously interested in this problem. Thus, we are doing a lot, drawing conclusions from the past to correct the existing state of affairs. I do not want to be suspected of exaggerating, but I will say frankly that the tasks are enormous.

And we should not deceive ourselves that the results of our activities that are very difficult and tiring but very necessary will come to fruition tomorrow. We cannot say that because once again we would be entering into the world of pretenses.

But I am convinced that by working with all the party members, with each POP and all party organizations and institutions, we will achieve the desired goals. I also am convinced that the results will come. Whether the road that we have taken will be long or short will depend on us, on the ideological front, on the aktiv of the entire party.

Municipal Party Indoctrination Program

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 4 Oct 83 p 6

[Article by (L): "From the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR City Committee in Inowroclaw; Before the New Party Training Year"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Inowroclaw evaluated preparations for the new school year for party training in the local organizations. The PZPR KM Ideological Commission prepared information on this theme. The facts included in this information were supplemented by speeches given Stanislaw Jaworski, KM secretary, and Marcin Wnuk, director of the City Center for Ideological-Indoctrinational Work.

Just as was done last year, the universal training process will be implemented by party organizations during ideological meetings. Over five such meetings took place last year in individual organizations. For the coming school year, this number will increase to six. It should be added that all party organizations obtained a list of training subjects in accordance with which the organizations will develop work plans after consultations with their members. A developed theme will concentrate on problems related to the party's social and economic policies. The proposition to accept additional themes related to party activities under specific community conditions is something new in this year's training plan. In particular it concerns the teaching and cultural communities.

A course entitled "Foundations of Sociopolitical Knowledge" will be offered by the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] for the party's worker aktiv. To date plant committees and POP's have enlisted 22 students for the course. In addition to this, the WUML organized for its own party aktiv a PKP [Polish State Railways] Junction Plant Committee in Inowroclaw. To date 36 students have been enlisted.

Most party organizations in Inowroclaw will implement the new school year program using their own instructors. Nonetheless, some of the numerically smaller plant organizations will make use of the help offered by the Municipal Lecturers' Association, just as they did last year. Training courses for young party members and PZPR candidate members will also be implemented using municipal instructors.

During the school year, the City Center for Ideological-Indoctrinational Work will conduct systematic training courses for lecturers. Thematic and methodological seminars will also be organized. These courses will be conducted by PZPR Central Committee and Provincial Committee lecturers who will discuss specific themes; they will delineate source materials and establish course methods. These types of seminars are planned for October and November of this year and for the first quarter of 1984.

Basic Party Member Obligations

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 4 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Tomasz Persidok: "The Start of the Year of Ideological Indoctrination; the Power of Knowledge and Arguments"]

[Text] One of the primary duties of a party member is to assimilate and popularize knowledge about Marxism-

Leninism. This is stated in the PZPR Statute, which also accentuates the need for training and self-training in the realm of the party's current program and policies. The concern is not only to gain knowledge but also to propagate it actively. This is associated with normal agitation, but it is also something much more important.

The new year for ideological training is starting in all party organizations and institutions conducting indoctrination activities. In the past this fact often remained in the shadow of current party activities. Training, of course, was included in POP working plans (after all, no one neglected "truly" to formulate a plan) but--let us be frank--it was universally checked off on the list but treated with a wink of the eye as nothing more than a fifth wheel on an organization's cart.

It was not long before the effects became evident, which even today become manifest on various occasions. When in months and years past the political enemy attacked, went on the offensive, and slandered and defamed the party, many of our comrades resisted for the most part by being predominately silent and simply remaining loyal to their organizations and viewpoints. In the meantime, the enemy conducted the struggle on the basis of arguments. In principle I should use quotation marks: as a rule the opposition's procedure was to use demagogic, sham arguments designed to influence a politically untrained listener. And it turned out, unfortunately, that at times this untrained listener was a party member. I write this without implied meaning and rancor; in reality the blame for this quiescence lies in the realm of ideological indoctrination. This quiescence was a matter of unconcern.

I witnessed many discussions in which our comrades were defeated because they lacked knowledge. I am ashamed to say that this also applies to a basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. In such a situation sophistry and pseudologic prevailed over the "peasant mentality" that was contrary to reality.

As a matter of fact, at such a ceremonial occasion as the opening of the new school year for ideological indoctrination, I should not refer to such shameful matters at any rate. It was, but it is in the past. Now the situation is entirely different, and the sociopolitical circumstances are much more favorable to the party.

But the problem is exceptionally important because the danger exists that there will be a return to improperly understood "normality," to thinking of the type: "it was so, but it is in the past." In this situation questions regarding training can once again be treated as a troublesome addition to the daily or obviously important affairs. We cannot allow this to happen for many reasons.

Ideological indoctrination in the party is important today and in general--in general because a communist is not only he who feels like one, one who roughly speaking is "for" and wishes to be active in the party. A communist

also is aware, that is, a person who possesses essential knowledge about theory, not only because the statute requires it but also--speaking consisely--because he himself would simply like to be more knowledgeable.

Indoctrination must not be sidetracked because party quality and strength will determine our country's future. The struggle with the political enemy has not ceased; the struggle for people's minds and attitudes continues. The enemies of socialism--from abroad or from the political underground--use primitive as well as refined tricks. Repulsion of the attacks on the theoretical, worldview and moral principles of the socialist system requires solid and incessantly updated knowledge from our side. It requires deep knowledge of the most current and important questions concerning modern Poland. What does national accord and its offshoot, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, mean? How will socialism guarantee in practice the principles of social justice? On what does the reform of the economic system depend and what barriers can it encounter? What is the relationship of a Marxist-Leninist party to the church and to religion? What methods of operation does modern imperialism use? And on what is ideological subversion in Poland based on? The preceding are some of the questions posed in daily talks, discussions and at political meetings with the enemy. A party member must not only have proper knowledge in this area, but he also must comprehend and distinguish the interrelationships among events and social processes in Poland and in the world, and know how to discuss them.

A party member does not operate in a vacuum. He works in a single assembly room, he stands besides one machine with colleagues who often turn to him with their problems and doubts. To non-party people, a party member is simply a specific person whose name is known and whose attitudes and knowledge influence considerably ideas and attitudes. This is a fact that is difficult to overestimate.

Sometimes we classify Polish society according to political attitudes: some support socialism, other work actively to harm it, but in the middle we have the so-called silent majority. Neglecting the imprecision of such a division, it can be stated that conducting ideological training for the party's rank and file that is well prepared and attractively and efficiently presented should permit its participants to have increasing influence over the attitudes and viewpoints of their immediate communities.

11899

CSO: 2600/190

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Equip Party Members with Arguments

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (bom): "Equip Party Members with Arguments"]

[Text] Tasks for party echelons and organizations in ideological-educational work were the subject of a party provincial committee plenary discussion in Zamosc yesterday. Wladyslaw Kowal, the party provincial committee first secretary, chaired the meeting in which Bogdan Jachacz, the director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the Central Committee, and Marian Wysocki, the governor of Zamosc, also participated.

Wieslaw Cichon, party provincial committee secretary, delivered the Executive Board's report, which contained a series of estimates and information on the sociopolitical situation in Zamosc. The report presented current undertakings in ideology and education which had been brought up by the party, and the most serious shortcomings and weaknesses in shaping socialist awareness among the inhabitants of the province. Current determining factors in the party's educational effort were presented against the backdrop of the sociopolitical and economic situation in both the country, as well as in the province. It is necessary to affirm that this situation is as difficult as before, although it is certainly better than the situation before 13 December 1981. Of course, we should not sink into complacency because of this.

A majority of people feel as politically lost and disoriented as before. There are even those who still have not renounced their opposition activity. For this reason, after an analysis of current political and social realities within the province, one may not draw only positive conclusions; one needs to keep in mind that the political struggle is still ongoing and the party must fight to win over that part of society which is still undecided. This is not an easy task when one considers that the consolidation process within the party itself is not yet finished. The fact that the process of violently settling accounts within the party has been limited should be emphasized. The provincial party organization has decreased from 32,444 members in December 1980 to 23,589 in June 1983, i.e., by 8855 members. Beginning with 1982, however, there has been some improvement, although the situation is

still not the best, inasmuch as the deletions and dismissals from the party this year exceed the acceptances of new members and candidates by 719 people.

Much of the weakness in the party centers around ideological-educational efforts. These problems continue to take up little space in the activity of basic party echelons and organizations. However, it is not difficult to notice the many positive changes taking place because of the effective moves made by party members.

Instructional activity is of particular importance for the party's ideological-educational efforts. These problems continue to take up little space in the activity of basic party echelons and organizations. However, it is not difficult to notice the many positive changes taking place because of the effective moves made by party members.

Instructional activity is of particular importance for the party's ideological-educational efforts.

It should be stated that considerable progress has been made in this area. Instruction, within the framework of ideological meetings, has been conducted by 1190 basic party organizations. If the point is program implementation or results gained, then special recognition has been gained by: the party city committees in Bilgoraj and Zamosc, the city-gmina committee in Szczepieszyn and the gmina committees in Bilgoraj, Jarczow, Ksiezpol, Susiec, and Tarnograd. However, despite these clear successes, we have to be critical of party instruction. Many basic organizations still regard instruction as being of secondary importance. There are cases where instruction is treated as being something trite; moreover, and this also needs to be looked at, a considerable number of party members remain politically uneducated. A serious shortcoming in instructional activity is also the fact that the planning of instructional activity is not flexible enough and is unable to keep up with the changing political situation. Meanwhile, the instruction process should become a forum for real discussion on how to work out a common position for party members with regard to the most pressing problems facing our social and political life. If today we are trying to revive the idea of internal effort, then we need to implement it precisely through instructional effort in relation to ideological-educational problems.

Not quite 2 years ago, the process of building the people's understanding nationally and in the Zamosc area was begun. We just could not afford to run short of party members. Currently, within the 132 elements of the Patriotic Movement for Nation Rebirth [PRON] there are 5,500 people, of whom more than 52 percent are party members. Ideological-propaganda work should be intensified as quickly as possible in this sphere. Here we are talking about expanding the social base of the PRON to include non-party members, women, young people and plant work-forces.

Besides PRON, professional trade unions occupy an important place in our political system. The reconstruction of the trade union movement is the

result of the ideological, political and organizational activity of party echelons and organizations operating in our factories and mills. Here it has to be stressed that the party does not create trade unions, but the party cannot permit that they operate without party participation. By now, there are 201 professional trade unions registered; moreover, 130 founders' committees are active. Altogether, 26,000 people out of a total number of 88,000 people employed in the province's socialized economy are affected.

The current level of development of the trade union movement in the plants and mills of the Zamosc area requires even more support from party organizations. It seems that in many cases party members limit themselves to only organizing trade unions without seeing the need to participate in them actively and directly.

Culture itself has an immeasurably significant role to play in the shaping of society's ideological and involvement attitudes. Under conditions here in Zamosc province, the further development of culture requires a considerable expansion of its base, which is currently decidedly modest. The weakest elements in cultural-educational activity for many years have been the rural cultural centers, especially the "Movement" and "Farmer" clubs. Recently, these centers have been joined by plant centers which, strictly speaking, have altogether ceased their participation in cultural activity.

The above-mentioned problems became the basis for a lively discussion which was conducted by four problem-solving teams. These four teams were individually chaired by" Team 1 (the intensification of current ideological-educational activity in party organizations and echelons)--Provincial Committee First Secretary Wladyslaw Kowal; Team 2 (the consolidation of ideological-educational activity in social organizations)--Provincial Committee Secretary Bronislaw Witkowski; Team 3 (the role of education and culture in influencing young people and society)--Provincial Committee Secretary Wladyslaw Cichon; Team 4 (state administration participation in shaping society's ideological attitudes)--Provincial Committee Secretary Zygmunt Mankowski.

Problems referring to the further intensification of ideological-educational activity in all centers were brought up in the discussion. It was stressed that the historic positive experiences of our party might provide inspiration. It seemed to many of the discussion's participants that the shortcomings in ideological instruction lie in the fact that it has often been reduced to hollow slogans, or excessively formalized. It was also often emphasized that the ideological struggle continues; so, for this reason too the party's offense in this area is very important, and every form of ideological-educational influence has to gain its own merit.

Many of the discussion's participants made reverence to the pressing need to step up the efforts of party organizations in the countryside and in the factories and mills. It was stated that the party has a crucial role to play in the strengthening of the trade union movement. Every party member should be particularly interested in this.

A separate problem is the weakness of many party organizations. In order to pump some life into them, we need to honor their proposals, which in the past have not been implemented. This led to the discouragement of party work in the countryside. As was already emphasized, an important problem is the need to study the state of social awareness. Attention was focused on the fact that knowledge of public behavior and still based excessively on institution; this is a serious barrier in the face of conducting effective ideological-educational and propaganda activity.

The adopted resolution stated that a further stabilization of socioeconomic and political life was occurring in Zamosc province. The provincial committee plenum acknowledged ideological activity to be the primary task of all the party organizations and echelons in the Zamosc area.

Educational Function of Party Jurisdiction

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 7 Oct 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Jerzy Urbanski, PZPR Central Control Commission chairman, by Adolf Reut]

[Text] Recently, the 10th plenary session of the Central Party Control Commission was dedicated to appraising party jurisdiction, including the qualification or proposals for a further improvement in the work of the party control commission at all levels. The issues of commission activity have aroused and continued to arouse the interest not only of party members. After all, party jurisdiction is a most clear manifestation of responding to any case of party statute violation by party members; it influences the shaping of the ethical attitudes and the defense of party ideological identity.

What phenomena can really be observed through the prism of the pronouncements of party control commissions, and how correctly are the commissions' duties performed or their legal rights exercised? Jerzy Urbanski, the chairman of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP], provided the answers to these questions during an interview with a journalist from the Polish Press Agency [PAP].

J. Urbanski stated at the outset that after the Ninth Party Congress, the decisionmaking activity of the commission became, as measured by experiences gained, penetrating and very comprehensive. This allowed the CKKP and other commissions to expand their activity to the area of prevention by taking control, responding to any events with negative features in various centers, and focusing the attention of party organizations on them. The discussion at the last CKKP plenum proved that commission participation in issue-ruling activity better serves the establishment and consolidation of the conviction within our ranks that our legal standards are binding, to the same degree, on all party members--without any exception.

I am convinced that the proposals resulting from these deliberations will promote a further improvement in the activity of our commissions. Their practical implementation will determine whether and how much party rulings will continue to influence party members in an educational and disciplining manner. We will not conceal that there is still weakness in our activity. The key point is that when the commissions are making a ruling, something which must always be characterized by great objectivity, fairness and principle, it should consider to an ever greater degree than before the opinion of the parent party organization to which the accused belongs, so that each decision made will have positive, educational and political results in the given environment. It is crucial that in the event the decision is misunderstood, the commission should know how to justify it convincingly. Moreover, certain decisions, with regard to the importance and social and political repercussions, should be initially discussed by the party control commission with the interested basic party organization. Whether or not the decisions are understood will determine whether party jurisdiction correctly executes its educational and disciplining function in the overall shaping of inter-party life.

We are touching here upon a key issue of supporting the process of revitalizing the basic elements of the party through the action of the party control commission. Many party organizations, and this needs to be stressed, are manifesting an even greater concern about their members' compliance with party principles and make their own rulings. For this reason, it is necessary, especially where the party control commissions have to make corrections, that no one regrets the time spent to explain why the commissions ruled the way they did. Basic party organizations appreciate this kind of action by the party control commissions.

[Question] In the first half of this year, party control commissions at all levels reviewed a total of 9,500 cases, including some where rulings had to be made, in a direct and revocatory manner, more than 3,500 cases were reviewed. What do these numbers mean?

[Answer] Above all, they demonstrate the intense activity of the commissions. From these figures, we see that not all the cases the commissions received were reviewed by the ruling team. Many of these cases, as I have already stated, were referred to the basic party organizations for review. The remaining cases were settled with simple warnings, if they consisted of relatively minor transgressions in the behavior of party members. The approach using simple warning was used in more than 4,000 cases. As far as activating basic party organizations, including rulings decisions, the party control commissions are becoming revocatory agencies of imparted party punishment to an ever increasing degree. This is the way it is supposed to be. By still having ambitions to fulfill party responsibilities even better, we cannot limit our activity in directly dealing with issues. Namely, we will continue to oppose more consistently and effectively any cases of deviation: careerism, arrogance, bureaucracy, suppression of criticism, dishonestly in fulfilling professional obligations, insensitivity to the problems of working people, and indifference towards damaging public property.

We believe that deciding to fight these excesses is just as important as directly struggling with our political opponents, inasmuch as it consolidates the party's strength and credibility in the eyes of the people and proves that we will not tolerate this kind of behavior even within our own ranks.

After all, if certain party organizations are still unable to deal with such cases independently, then the party control commissions themselves have to do so and will continue to do so. This has to do more and more with a more effective defense of people maliciously accused and sentenced without evidence, including people in leadership positions who were sometimes attacked because they demanded an honest fulfillment of professional obligations. We are trying to do everything to oppose as effectively as possible the reappearance of incorrect practices from the past. Many facts show that the party is carefully regarding its pronouncements which cover the fight against everything which violates our principles of public justice and encourages arrogance and voluntarism. Our decisions to relieve incompetent and inefficient people of their positions and duties show this. We will continue this activity together with party organizations and echelons.

[Question] What do the control commissions plan to do to enhance their effectiveness?

[Answer] I believe that really moving forward to a great degree is dependent not only on how well we, the whole party, its organizations, echelons and control agencies, struggle with the effects of negative results, but also how we investigate the reasons for evil and the mechanisms which allow it to exist. Here I want to be a little self-critical and say that with regard to the above, we are still doing too little; we do not always make the necessary analyses and draw the proper conclusions.

An extremely critical area of party control commission activity is the uncompromising response towards party members responsible for uneconomic management, damage or disregard of public property. This situation made up around 20 percent of the cases reviewed by party control commissions in the first half of this year. We have noticed that even very improved economic mechanisms are themselves unable to strengthen an economy if they are not simultaneously accompanied by productive and disciplined work, wise and effective administration, honesty, and involvement in meeting responsibilities in every work place. The real problem is in people and their attitudes.

[Question] Party elements are currently facing an important period of the reports-election campaign. Will this also be a special time for the party control commissions?

[Answer] But of course, The law defines the term of office for party authorities and control agencies. We deal on a daily basis with all the problems facing the entire party. These problems also include the reports-election campaign. It will provide us with an opportunity to reflect on

our achievements in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and our own, as well as on what future tasks face us.

We are actively becoming involved in shaping the ideological-political and organizational effort connected to the reports-election campaign. We will have an impact on the consolidation of party consistency during the reports-election campaign as a result of our legally authorized activities.

The commissions will compile reports on their activities at the conferences. We are being careful that these reports turn out to be serious political documents containing as much as possible a complete picture of the party control commissions' comprehensive activities. They will also contain perceptions touching upon specific events occurring within the party, including the weaknesses which need to be overcome.

In speaking of our efforts, I will try to emphasize in closing that it took the social dedication of many thousands of party control commission members at all levels to achieve our present results.

Public Assistance, State Policy

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 7 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by MAT: "Public Assistance is an Important Element of State Policy"]

[Text] A total of 12.6 percent of Wloclawek Province's population is made up of people over 60; the national average, on the other hand, is 11.5. The problem of public assistance provided to people past their productive years is especially important for the inhabitants of Kujawy and the Dobrzyn area as well.

During yesterday's meeting of the party Provincial Committee Executive Board in Wloclawek, which was chaired by party Provincial Committee First Secretary Krystian Luczak, the current activities of those services responsible for that important activity of the Department of Health and Social Welfare of the Provincial Office were discussed. It was affirmed that current socio-economic conditions in the country required that everything be done to lessen as much as possible the effects of the crisis on retired and single old people. The Executive Board emphasized that, besides the development of welfare centers and the just distribution of financial and material resources, it was necessary to put greater pressure on the enforcement of the duties of families of people who are in receipt of state support. Up until now, there have been many who turn away from this very moral, if not formal, obligation.

Attention was also focused on the need to penetrate better individual communities where social services are neglected and abused. Simultaneously, people referred to the need to continue the investments into and major repairs of public guardian homes, all of which had already been initiated. Despite the considerable progress in this area, much backwardness needs to be eradicated, e.g., the issue of the forthcoming completion of the Social Welfare Home in Raciazek.

During yesterday's meeting the Executive Board also evaluated the level of preparation for the reports-election campaign by the provincial party organization and was briefed on the implementation of the Central Committee Politburo's resolution on the tasks to consolidate Polish-Soviet Friendship in the public consciousness.

Lublin Plenum on Youth Behavior

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Zof)]

[Text] Following the party Central Committee's Ninth Plenum, the Lublin Party Provincial Committee undertook an examination of the political and educational problems of young people at a plenary session one year ago. Thursday, 6 October, the Provincial Committee plenum returned to these problems at its next session to evaluate the implementation of last September's resolution and to make plans for future efforts.

Provincial Committee First Secretary Wieslaw Skrzydlo chaired the proceedings, in which party Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, the director of the Team for Youth Affairs, Leszek Miller, secretaries from city, gmina and plant committees, party and youth activists, as well as representatives of authorities, enterprises and institutions cooperating in the education of young people participated.

The session's participants were briefed on the activities of Lublin Province's state administration with regard to the implementation of state policy vis-a-vis young people and on the undertakings of the party and youth organization in this area. In the introductory report of the discussion, party Provincial Committee Secretary Tadeusz Borszynski stated: "A year is not a long time to finish such desired, serious and difficult undertakings, especially since it was also a year of important political events. The passage of the trade union law, the suspension of martial law, etc., were events which more than once put off the interest of party organizations and echelons in the problems of young people. However, both evaluations by basic and plant echelons and conducted inspections revealed that these echelons and organizations had fulfilled the obligations placed on them by the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum both in the dissemination of the plenum's results as well as in a political analysis of youth centers and their organizations. A considerable number of echelons turned their attention more than once to young people's affairs. The implementation of the resolutions of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum was evaluated equally as often. These problems took up considerable time at reports conferences and successive Provincial Committee plenary sessions. I can honestly say that at the levels of the Provincial Committee and local echelons, we accomplished much in ending the distrust of young people by providing them with current

political information, including explanations of policy and emergency party decisions. The sincerity and genuine interest of basic party organizations and executive boards in the affairs of young people and their assistance in difficult issues contributed not only to the total revival of former cooperation in a great many organizations, but also passed on to these organizations a real sense that they were now real partners. We can at least mention the cooperation of basic party organizations with circles of the Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP] in Lublin's Waga Factories, the District Post Office and Telecommunications Directorate, and the Municipal Communications Enterprise. Similar examples could be cited from various centers of young people both working and going to school.

"At the opposite pole of the evaluation, several party and youth echelons can be found which did not go beyond a formal review of issues at their executive board meetings concerning mutual contacts. In this group are party organizations which are not bothered by the stagnation or decay of activity in youth organization. This is the case in many plants and mills for instance: the Lubgal Tape Recorder Plant of Unitra in Lubartow, the M. Buczka Leather Processing Plant in Lublin, and many others."

Statements characterized by great personal involvement proved that young people's affairs greatly interested the session's participants. Elements of the Polish Socialist Youth Union, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scouts' Association and the Polish Students' Association were referred to for their role in shaping the ideological attitudes of young people; the determining factors, restraints and effects of their work were also covered. The significance of the accomplishments of previous generations in the education of young people was also discussed. Many bitter comments were made with regard to the formalism in the efforts of fulltime youth activists and their absence from among the young people in factories and rural circles. There were many speeches calling for an offense and very decisive action against those who are not fulfilling their role as the educators of young people, even though that is their duty. There was also talk of the troubling shortcomings in the cultural and educational base among students. The following spoke during the discussion: Jan Krawczak, Ryszard Wojcik, Janusz Wojcik, Pawel Medykowski, Stanislaw Kostrzewas, Andrzej Machnikowski, Zygmunt Lancut, Andrzej Bukowski, Kazimierz Bogdanowicz, Krzysztof Pulikowski, Stanislaw Brzezinski, Stanislaw Suszek, Kazimierz Szymanski, Piotr Furgal, Jacek Zadurski, and Andrzej Oprus.

The discussion resulted in concrete proposals and propositions to correct the current state of affairs in this area, including assistance to young people making a professional start in life and the development of culture, education and mass sporting activities. In expressing their position with regard to the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum and the Provincial Committee plenum of 27 September concerning youth affairs, members of the Provincial Committee plenum affirmed that current efforts are already producing their first results, including an increase in youth involvement in the application of the economic reform and development of apartment construction.

In emphasizing the role of youth associations in securing the participation and activism of their representatives on people's councils, self-governing agencies and trade unions, the Provincial Committee plenum advised the focus of special attention of guaranteeing thorough sociopolitical and historic knowledge, as well as a reawakening of interest in the basics of Marxism-Leninism in the education of young people. It was also affirmed that it was necessary to aim at shaping an awareness of international factors and the economic development of the country among young people. The Provincial Committee appealed to all party organizations and echelons, youth organizations and public elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, trade unions, state and economic administration, and all the elements of self-government consistently to implement the tasks and obligations of the Provincial Committee's Executive Board with continuous monitoring.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, a resolution was passed on a flag for the city-gmina echelon in Naleczow and the appointments of a party plant committee in the Municipal Transport Enterprise and an environmental education committee in Lublin.

12247

CSO: 2600/198

PZPR IDEOLOGUE OUTLINES GOALS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 12 Oct 83 pp 7, 8

[Article by Prof Adolf Dobieszewski, deputy director, Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] Marxist-Leninist ideology is based on the following fundamental assertions: (1) Capitalism is a system historically on its way out: it has outlived its usefulness, and it is reactionary. The bourgeoisie is a class which is hopelessly entangled in antagonistic contradictions it cannot overcome or prevent from becoming more acute; and (2) The liberation of the working class can be achieved by the working class only; the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved only by the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat; the working class can liberate itself only when it liberates the entire society from the exploitation of man by man.

Marxist-Leninist ideology is the only ideology which does not use mystification but presents reality, which makes no use of the fiction of a uniform mankind and of society as such, and which while bringing forward the interests of the working class can be a scientific ideology as well. The class character of Marxist-Leninist ideology in no way excludes its general human character, because the liberation of the working class and building of a classless society is the condition for liberating mankind, and this is so because of the historic role of the working class, but also because the experiences and interests of this class focus like a lens on the experiences and interests of the society as a whole.

According to Z. Cackowski, the basic value system expressed in Marxism "constitutes a value system growing out of the interests of the proletariat and of other working groups of the society. The major interest of the proletariat is in eliminating itself as an exploited class, but not by means of replacing capitalist exploitation with another form of exploitation, or the capitalist form of private ownership with another form of private ownership (the proletariat does not represent any form of private ownership, on the contrary, it is a personification of protest against any form of exploitation), but by liquidating any social classes--where one

class lives at the expense of the other--and by abolishing any form of private ownership. This interest expresses the interest of all mankind, because it is a movement to broaden and deepen the spheres of social justice. It is for this reason that Marxism is both a scientific theory of social life and a progressive ideology."

The global character of Marxist-Leninist ideology, expressing the interests of the proletariat as a whole and emphasizing that it can achieve its liberation only on the condition of mutual support within the worldwide labor movement, in no way means that it ignores the national interests of the workers. According to J. Wacławek, "on the contrary, it enriches itself with all progressive traditions of a given nation. Thus, socialist ideology serves not only the international working class, but also the well-understood interests of any nation, because the interests of any nation mean the interests of its majority, that is, the working classes. The proletariat, when fighting for the liberation of labor, becomes a class-hegemon, representing the interests of a nation. In socialist ideology, patriotism has an unbreakable bond with proletarian internationalism."

At the same time, Marxist-Leninist ideology constitutes a perspectivist vision of the development of a human world; it shows the labor movement the causes and tendencies of changes in the existing social conditions and formulates the criteria for the evaluation of current practices; it makes it possible to see the difference between the less and more important things as well, delineating the ways and bridges, linking the perspectivist vision with the current situation.

According to Lenin, "Regardless of what the further course of the struggle will be and how many zigzags will have to be overcome (and there will be many of them) (...)--in order to see the way and not get lost on the turns of history (...) [it is necessary--A.D.] to maintain a general perspective in order to see the red thread which ties the entire development of capitalism and the entire path of socialism and which will never be straight, but rather unusually complex."

Marxist-Leninist ideology is based on the learning of laws, governing nature and societies and it scientifically defines directions and forms of revolutionary struggle. However, progressive ideas become material force only when they are assimilated by the masses. "Ideas cannot materialize anything. In order to realize an idea people who would use force are needed," as noted by K. Marx and F. Engels.

In the process of historical development there always exist old views and theories which express the interests of conservative social forces. It is they which hamper the course of social development and play the backward role in history. However, there also exist new progressive ideas and social theories which express the aspirations and interests of the progressive social forces. They permit and accelerate the course of social development, and assist in resolving current historical tasks. As Lenin noted, "The consciousness of the working masses cannot be a truly class consciousness unless the workers learn to observe any other social class in all

manifestations of the intellectual, moral and political life of these classes on the basis of concrete and, at the same time, undeniably urgent (current) political facts and events, and unless they learn to apply in practice the principles of materialistic analysis and materialistic evaluation of all facets of activity and life of all classes, segments and groups of the population."

The overthrow of capitalism and complete victory of the socialist system depend directly on the level of consciousness of the working class and its allies and on the party's ideological impact on the broad masses, that is, on subjective factors, related to the spiritual life of society. Lenin emphasized: "Marxism sets itself apart from all other socialist theories by wonderfully combining, in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and objective course of evolution, both the most sober scientific evaluation and the most forceful recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativity and revolutionary initiative of the masses." The higher the consciousness and ideological involvement of the masses, the faster we can solve the tasks facing us, because "the consciousness of man not only reflects the objective world, but it creates it as well."

Growing out of scientific knowledge of reality, Marxist-Leninist ideology enriches itself in the course of acquiring knowledge. For there is no contradiction between the truth and the interests of the working people, and between science and their ideology. However, there is an acute contradiction between the science and ideology of parasite classes, which remain in conflict with society. As Lenin stated, the attractiveness of Marxism grows out of the fact that "it combines the highest scientific precision (the expression of the latest achievements in social sciences) and revolutionary attitude, and the connection is not accidental not only because its creator himself combined the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary, but because these features are internally and indivisibly combined in the theory itself."

Marxist-Leninist ideology is not a dogma, but an explanation of a development process, which is composed of phases. As F. Engels stated, "Our theory is a developing theory, not a dogma which must be learned by heart and mechanically recited." Therefore, those "who learned the theory in some way--that is, the dogmatic part of it--become an ordinary sect, because they are incapable of understanding the vital theory of the interaction of labor and the working class in every single phase of its development in any other way, but as a set of dogmas to be learned by heart and to be recited like an incantation or a prayer."

V. Lenin always decisively opposed attempts to adapt ideology to the immediate needs of political struggle as well as doctrinaire attempts in practical action only because they reflect ideological dogmas, often adopted from another epoch. He stated that "We do not consider (...) Marx's theory as something finite and untouchable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it only created the foundation of this science, which ought to be further developed in all directions by socialists if they do not want to end up

behind the reality." Apart from this basic side of Marxism, he also emphasized that "we make Marxism one-sided, degenerated, dead, we take out its live soul, we challenge its fundamental theoretical bases: the dialectic—the science of the universal and full of contradictions historical development, we challenge its relation to concrete practical tasks of the epoch which may change at each new historical turn."

The development of Marxist theory has always been connected with a dialectical-materialist analysis of the reality, for while objectivism means simple acknowledgement of facts and phenomena, disregarding theirgnoseological and social causes, and lack of understanding of the sources of the class struggle in the contemporary world, the subjectivism always leads to underestimation of objective laws of development and to arbitrary interpretation of social phenomena and processes.

Lenin pointed out in this respect that "in the field of social phenomena the most common and improper trick used is fishing out little facts and toying with examples. To gather facts, in general, is not difficult, but at the same time it is of no consequence or it is of negative value only, because everything depends on the historical context of the individual cases. Facts, if they are examined as a whole and in the context of their mutual relationships, are not only 'stubborn,' but unquestionably persuasive as well. Little facts, looked at separately with no regard for their mutual relationships and arbitrarily selected, are just a toy, or something even worse than that."

In Lenin's approach the class character of Marxist ideology is also characterized by its deep "partyiness." This directly stems from the leading role of the party in the period of struggle to liberate the proletariat, and subsequently during socialist construction. There is a close interdependence between the class meaning of principle in ideology and the effectiveness of ideological influence on the masses by the party as well as the development of consciousness of these masses, and their political maturity. As Lenin stated: "As we know, 'partyiness' is both a condition and indicator of political development. The more a given population or class is politically developed, educated and aware, the higher is—as a rule—its degree of partyiness. (...) From the point of view of class struggle it is understandable that this is the way it should be: nonpartyiness or the lack of clear party image and party organization mean class vacillation." Lenin always demanded from the party that its "views on social phenomena be based on relentlessly objective analyses of reality and of real development (...)." While expressing the interests of the working class, it should more than anybody else be interested in the scientific reflection of reality, because the aims of this class are completely compatible with historic progress.

Marxist-Leninist ideology can grow only when it is close to social practice, which provides this ideology with study materials and also verifies its statements. However, Marxism-Leninism is not just a complement and affirmation of practice.

Political practice, by creating new facts and transforming the configuration of social forces, introduces historically justified corrections and complements into ideology.

The bond of ideological work and life finds its expression most of all in compatibility with program tasks and party policy. Therefore, Lenin noted that the party in its entire propaganda activity must show "by live and concrete examples and models, taken from all fields of life (...), to what degree the new is communist." He believed that the best indication of the effectiveness of the ideological-educational work of the party is direct involvement of the working people in all spheres of building the new society, because only then do the masses really begin to learn the meaning of socialist construction on the basis of their own practical experience.

The ideas, slogans and appeals of the party are an efficient means of mobilizing the masses and of developing creative initiative only when they are based on the absolute unity of word and action.

Lenin particularly vigorously opposed the kind of propaganda which uses social demagoguery, that is, promises which have no basis with regard to the real possibility of their fulfillment. He warned: "We must not sow illusions or create myths, for this would be absolutely against the materialist understanding of history and the class viewpoint. (...) In all of our propaganda and agitation we ought to present our case straight without beating around the bush. People to whom politics means little maneuvers, which sometimes border on fraud, must be decisively condemned in our environment."

The unity of words and actions is a negation of the beautification and embellishment of reality as well as of the exaggeration of shortcomings. This means a realistic and self-critical attitude on the part of the party toward its own experience as well as sober accounting of all circumstances and difficulties which may come up in the process of performing practical tasks of socialist construction. Therefore, the party's propaganda tasks must be understood "not only in the context of explaining the past, but also in the context of bold forecasting of the future as well as brave practical activity aiming at its realization."

The historical role of Marxist-Leninist ideology is such that it is the only ideology which can give the broadest masses an orientation and understanding of internal relations of the circumstances surrounding them and which can unite them into a revolutionary force, which is aware of both the present and the immediate future.

8609
CSO: 2600/200

PROPOSED PRESS LAW DISCUSSED BY COMMISSION MEMBER

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish No 209, 21-23 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Docent Dr hab Bogdan Michalski, director of the Institute of Journalism of Warsaw University, by Witold Goscinski: "Between Freedom of Speech and Responsibility"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Our interlocutor is a specialist on press and authorship law, an author of numerous publications and books on these topics, a member of the Codification Commission preparing the draft press law.

[Question] Docent Michalski, could you tell which document the following quotation comes from:

"The Polish People's Republic guarantees freedom of speech and printing in publications and shows."

[Answer] From the law on control of publications and shows, of course.

[Question] Further on we read in the same law:

"The protection and assurance of the implementation of the freedom of speech and printing in publications and shows is the duty of state organs and institutions as well as political and social organizations." Those are statements of fundamental importance for the efficient functioning of the printed media. One can understand them as a journalist's right to be informed and to criticize. Considering that fact, do we need a press law?

[Answer] This is not a new question. It was already raised in journalistic milieus. There were even opinions expressed that maybe it would be better to retain the present state of things, under which we are guided (although this is a controversial matter) by the remnants of the pre-war press law, some mimeographed legislation and a few normative acts of lower rank.

Now, I think that this is a result of ignorance of the press law as a separate kind of law. For too long a time it has been absent from our legal landscape. One more matter should be mentioned also. There is an

unfavorable attitude in a certain small segment of the journalistic milieu regarding putting those matters in order. It arises from the fact that the press law will doubtlessly provide certain guarantees for practicing the profession of journalism, as well as certain unavoidable restrictions that will hurt dishonest journalists. I have in mind, among other things, the problem of publishing corrections, court reports, protection of personal rights, etc.

[Question] The so-called right to one's own face is notoriously violated by television. It results also from the special character of this news medium. Is it possible and is it necessary to counteract this?

[Answer] Let us be frank about this. Violation of the so-called right to one's own face by TV can be comparatively easily counteracted utilizing the already existing legislation, only those involved do not have enough clout and often too little time and money in order to sue TV. I suppose that 70 percent of cases of such TV violations could have been won by the harmed individuals. This is TV's weakest spot, and I think that we need here reasonable but decisive regulations which would protect people. Particularly as regards reports from court proceedings. TV often utilizes its possibilities in a way that is malicious toward people facing the court, or those whose cases are in the process of being prepared.

[Question] What will be the role of the press law in the public life?

[Answer] The law is an indispensable element of the legal system. It will serve the task of balancing the mutual proportions between the freedom and the responsibility of the press. It will put in order the main relationships: the journalist--the informant--the recipient of the information. It will create legal guarantees for the practice of the journalistic profession (anonymity, right to information and criticism, etc.), as well as legal guarantees protecting the citizen from abuses on the part of the press.

[Question] The draft law has an eclectic and fragmentary character. What does this result from?

[Answer] The law contains two groups of regulations. The first one is the specific regulations that are encountered only in the press law. The second one [includes] norms of a *lex specialis* character, mainly regarding the criminal, civil and administrative regulations, but occasionally also those pertaining to press law or authorship law, etc. Those are norms too particular to fit into laws of a general character. Eclecticism cannot be, therefore, recognized as a reproach. It results from the specific nature of the press law. It is a technique that is recognized all over the world, although one that is applied in differing proportions in various laws.

It was consciously assumed that the law being prepared will not have a comprehensive character. It is to regulate only certain areas of problems, because if one wanted to construct a legal act pertaining, for example, to publications, journalistic profession, an editor, then, in earnest, one

would have to work for some 5 more years. This does not exclude a future merger of all the regulations into a single normative act, although, as of now, a couple of specific laws are still wanting.

[Question] The draft stipulates creation of a Press Council. This is a new institution, one that has aroused quite a controversy in the [journalistic] milieu (and not only there). What for?

[Answer] The draft proposes creation of the Press Council attached to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. It is supposed to be an opinion-making and advising body. Such councils exist in 40 countries around the world, and they play the role of a discussion forum. The press can use such a forum to voice its comments or proposals, to submit to the authorities its postulates. The Press Council arouses anxiety in a number of parties. There is a fear that it would restrict the freedom of publishers, and even of the founding bodies. On the other hand--that it would be one more instrument with which to steer the press. I think that those fears are at present unjustified. Participation in the council's work will be voluntary, while its decisions will constitute a kind of guidelines rather than orders. The council's members will be appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers from among the candidates who would be submitted by the journalists' organizations (one-third), printed media publishers (one-third) and state administration, representatives of science and learning, artistic circles, social and political organizations (one-third). In a word, it will be a social organ that has been missing until now.

[Question] Attaching the council to the chairman of the Council of Ministers instead of to the State Council is a controversial decision. Minister Urban stated in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY that this occurred because the postulate of the Union of Journalists [SD] was taken into account.

[Answer] The Union of Journalists proposed that the Press Council be attached to the State Council in order to maintain symmetry in the subordination of the council and the Main Administration for Control of Publications and Shows. (It is subordinated to the State Council.) It appears that the decisive factor was the way the Culture Council and other bodies of this kind are situated. Naturally, Sejm will make the final decision.

[Question] How does the draft guarantee journalist's right to be informed and to criticize?

[Answer] The right to be informed, and this is one of the newer institutions of the press law, consists in the duty of the units of state administration, organizations, associations, etc., to inform the press within the limits that are indispensable to perform its functions. In the cases when the information is denied there is an appeal system, while the journalist is not in a situation of a petitioner but of a person who is entitled to ask questions. In addition, the journalist is entitled to collect information from private individuals. The law also protects persons who inform the journalist, provided they act within the bounds of law. This is very significant, because until now matters involving protection of the informant were solved more

according to the accepted practice than on the basis of the regulations of the law.

As far as the right to criticize is concerned, the journalist has the right to judge negatively scientific or artistic work, or activity of institutions or individuals, provided that those judgements are honest, based on true foundations and kept within the bounds of the so-called good manners and principles of harmonious coexistence. This definition is being criticized by some people. What good does it do? It is the first attempt to create in Polish law a normative definition of criticism; it allows for a clear distinction between criticism and libel. It provides the criticizing journalist with legal protection, of which he is presently deprived. Now each case against a journalist that involves criticism is being judged on the basis of regulations on the protection of one's good name.

Another matter, which is tied to this, is the legal-penal protection against the suppression of criticism and the expanded regulations on anonymity, that is the right not to disclose one's last name and to maintain journalistic secrecy. It is difficult to talk of the specific shape of those regulations now, as they are in the process of preparation.

[Question] The problem of authorization. Will the journalist have to authorize each, even a short statement? How can this be in agreement with fast and efficient informing of public opinion?

[Answer] Under the present legal situation the journalist should do this as well. One who gives the information can effectively demand this from the journalist. Often the informants, if they know that they are dealing with honest journalists, forego the right to authorization or agree on the contents of their statements in advance. Nevertheless, we cannot tolerate the situation that was demanded by some reporters when they said: all we care for is a story, we are not concerned about the individual. This is the way a great deal of harm can be done to people.

We must remember also that there are two parties in information, statements or interviews: the journalist and the informant. We cannot create a legally permissible situation that allows for a clear advantage of one party over the other.

On the other hand, in cases when the journalists "slice" somebody's statements in such a way that only their remnants are left, taken out of context, they obviously do not have to present them under a specific name. They can choose some style that is more of literary nature.

Why is it necessary? We have to stress that people have the right to control what the journalist has done with the contents of their statements. There is no situation anywhere in the world in which a journalist can use as he pleases the information that he had obtained. This is only additional safeguarding, in a sense, of the journalist's honesty as well.

[Question] Does the draft take into consideration problems connected with the self-government of the editorial teams?

[Answer] Self-government of journalists is a matter that is more appropriate [for treatment by] some future law or some other regulations on the journalistic profession. Nevertheless, there are some elements pertaining to these problems in the law, for instance, committees, editorial and programming councils. As a whole, however, in view of the fact that it is the head editor who is chiefly responsible, the law is directed toward strengthening the individual responsibility of the supervisor of the editorial board, although it allows for background control and consultations by the founding bodies at the time the statutes are being worked out.

[Question] Does a journalist have to conform unconditionally to his periodical's programmatic line? Who is supposed to define this line?

[Answer] This matter is still being discussed, and in my view it is far from being finally solved. The latest formulation in the government draft which was submitted to Sejm is, in my view, an inauspicious formulation. Because, in a sense, its wording misses the point. Generally speaking, all over the world a journalist who is employed by a given periodical has to observe its programmatic line. For instance, in the Federal Republic of Germany it is enforced very strictly. Although it is a problem [when we ask] what the limits of this loyalty are and what are the rights of a journalist which, among other things, follow from the Constitution. Those are matters still under discussion, and they are connected to the question: who is supposed to define the programmatic line?

Most probably (I am speaking about the hypothetical practical case) it will be defined by the editorial board along with its founding body. These matters will be regulated in the editorial statutes or regulations. We should aim at making these criteria objective. Naturally, they cannot contradict the regulations of the law, particularly of the work law. A journalist will have to abide by these principles, but only within the limits of his work contract. This is a regulation which is difficult to work out and it causes much controversy. We still do not know what will be its final form.

[Question] There were several drafts of this law. What is their history? Which one is being considered now?

[Answer] I would like to stress that this is the first draft of the press law that will finally reach the Sejm. As far as the most recent history is concerned, I have written extensively on this in PRASA POLSKA (No 2, 1983; B. Michalski: "Press Law; Codification Work, 1918-1981"--W. G.).

In the years 1980-82 two drafts were prepared which can be described as social. The first one was worked out by a team of Krakow journalists and lawyers. The second one, which had a private character, was created by me under the auspices of the Union of Journalists. Both drafts were submitted to the Codification Commission, and in some way they inspired its deliberations. Drafts which were worked out by the commission fared variously. The first one was published as the so-called green booklet. The second one was published in PRASA POLSKA. The third one, after consultations in ministries, was submitted by the commission to the Council of Ministers,

and, finally, the fourth one, the government draft, was sent to the Sejm. This is the one which is being worked on, although quite often this involves looking back at many matters from previous versions as well as taking up new problems.

[Question] Is public opinion familiar with this draft?

[Answer] I think so. The public knows of it from press discussions, and there have been many of them from RZECZYWISTOSC to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. It would be difficult to publish this text in the dailies, if only for technical reasons (its volume). Besides, there is still no final version--it will be defined by the commission. One should expect that the text which will be submitted to the Sejm's speaker will differ considerably from the original one. I should mention that work [on this text] aims at its improvement. There are still matters which are being viewed differently, and I suppose that some of them will be solved only by the Sejm.

[Question] For instance?

[Answer] It is difficult to talk about them now; these matters are still under discussion. If one reviews consultations, remarks, press discussions, one would actually find that there are no incontestable points. This is, however, perfectly normal when an honest legislative process is taking place.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

9644

CSO: 2600/181

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WAGES, PRICES EXAMINED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 42, 19 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem: "Self-evaluations, Thought Processes"]

[Text] In Warsaw, on Pulawska Street, on the door to a government store that sells lamps there is an inscription: "Beware, negotiated prices." This inscription is reminiscent of the warning "Beware of the dog" which serves to discourage intruders from entering the grounds of a privately owned estate. By the way, such warnings are usually posted by those farmers and property owners who cannot afford a dog, or whose dogs are good natured. The warnings are posted instead. (The persons who protect their ownership status by posting false statements have the temerity to criticize our propaganda on moral grounds.)

In the social consciousness negotiated prices are filthy and even horrible. Opinion polls have shown that majority of citizens want the government-established prices. They know through experience that one can discuss with the government and protest its intentions, while the economic mechanism does not have an address, will not arrive at the bargaining table, and, in itself, does not respond even to quite well-defined manifestations of dissatisfaction. People want to deal with people, not with abstractions, at least when their mundane, temporal interests are at stake.

The government-guaranteed prices are associated with lower, more affordable prices, while the negotiated prices are characterized as excessive. That is why society prefers to deal with prices issued by Minister Krasinski rather than by Minister Baka, despite the fact that the first minister personifies evil, or price increases, while the second one personifies good, or reform. The psychology of economics is very complex, as is the psychology of politics.

It ought to be remembered that Solidarity's economic program anticipated the free floating of all prices, in accordance with the doctrine of economic reform, the so-called "Network" [Siec]. Solidarity itself stated that such prices are favored by the entire society. Today we are finding that almost

all the economic premises of the program of the former Solidarity are socially unpopular. It is even more interesting to observe that those very people who consider themselves orphans of Solidarity and who bemoan its disbanding are constantly demanding that the government keep an iron hand on prices and sternly punish private initiative which offends the sense of justice. Yet, the development of private initiative was ardently supported by Solidarity which treated it as the favored child who ought to be the source of hope for the future, while the socialized economy was considered by Solidarity as a tolerated necessity. Human thinking is often disconnected, nonsequential, and human memory is short-lived.

The ideal economic reform idea which functions in the human consciousness is more or less as follows: let the government establish the prices, taking care that they do not increase. Earnings, on the other hand, ought to be freely shaped to increase at the work place, because that is just. For neither earnings nor prices are de facto recognized by us as economic categories which result from production costs, size, work productivity, etc. In John Doe's opinion, earnings and prices are ethical categories. Earnings and the prices ought to be just, formed in accordance with human needs.

When John Doe appears not as a consumer but as a worker, managing his enterprise, he is faced with the problem of what method to employ in order to increase earnings. Then he is in favor of an increase in the sale prices because he has allowed an increase in the production costs, one of which is wages. He is, therefore, in favor of low prices for all products except those which he himself manufactures. He is not at all determined to harm his neighbor and is not against cheap retail sales of his product. Let the state provide a subsidy from its budget to cover the difference between the higher production costs and the lower retail prices of his product. Where are the budgetary means to come from, however, and where are the products to come from, to ensure the real value of money and to protect us from inflation? That is the government's problem and if the government is not smart enough to solve it, then the government is not the way it ought to be. Thus, when it comes to the question of where the means should come from, since earnings grow faster and considerably more than production or productivity, while neither price increase nor inflation are wanted at all, then John Doe withdraws his advice altogether. He does not participate at that level of thinking. He says: "You will find some kind of remedy for it all," or even: "You must govern better."

There is a real way to overcome that problem. It would permit a growth of prices faster than production and productivity and would hold the prices at a standstill, not introducing inflation and filling the stores with goods. Simply, someone else ought to work for us, ought to do it cheaply, give us part of value of the product manufactured. Poland must have colonies! Unfortunately, such an idea is belated and in today's world it is difficult to realize. Besides, it would awaken strong resistance of an ideological nature in our noble society. This fact becomes the background from which a certain political-magical peculiarity is born. Thus, we desire that the role of the colonies that work to satisfy our needs be fulfilled by the

countries stronger than us. Yet, this program, unfortunately, is equally unrealizable. The role of the colonies can be fulfilled only by organisms weaker than the metropolis; even they will do it only until they themselves become stronger. We are so preoccupied with history that we ought to have perceived this rule of world events.

Often an employee says that his earnings should increase because his present earnings are insufficient to make the living he justly deserves. Yet, what calculations are to determine how much he does deserve? Do these calculations subtract from the production price the cost of investments, amortization, cost of raw goods and materials, energy, enterprise management, taxes benefiting society at large, etc., etc., in order to determine that there is much more left over to pay for his work than he is now receiving as pay? No! Pay is measured by the home and family daily life needs rather than by production estimates, whereas the unearned pay increase can be granted only at the expense of others who would receive less than they earned as a result of it, or at the expense of all, that is, by diminishing the value of the disbursed money.

It is even more difficult to direct our thinking about earnings toward economic terms when we consider the nonmanufacturing areas. Intellectuals of different professions also measure their earnings by needs that have been formed in better times; in addition, they place great prestige value on their earnings. The rank of a profession or position, as measured against other professions and positions, depends on the level of income. A frequent argument concerns the need to elevate the rank of an occupation. The government authorities must do that by giving pay increases. Unfortunately, almost all the occupations are noble and important and require rank elevation. Nobody knows a professional group whose rank ought to be lowered. (An exception in this case is private enterprise.) Thus, a continuous elevation of rank takes place in every occupation in turn. That does not satisfy any of them as, in relation to other groups, their rank is not being elevated, or is being elevated only for a short period of time. However, the nominal mobility of earnings does not cause an increase in real earnings, so comparison with the daily life needs does not come out as a satisfactory measure.

Another psychological peculiarity is the fact that, on the one hand, we desire an increase in earnings, price stability, an improvement in the standard of living; on the other hand, however, we enjoy all the benefits and gains which damage the living standard. Is it a good thing to have a high birth rate? Oh, yes, it is wonderful! But the government must take care that mothers do not have to work to make a living, that they receive all the family and upbringing aid, that there be planned in advance construction of post-natal care centers, pre-schools and schools, that many good and well-paid teachers be trained, that the food for children and youth be subsidized. Is it a good thing that there is an increase in the number of people on retirement and that pensions increase? It is wonderful, only pensions ought to be higher and the retirement age ought to be lowered for many occupations. Is it a good thing to have work-free Saturdays? Is it a good thing to have an almost completely nonexistent night production shift? Delectably so! And it is also a very pleasant thing

that during the second shift there are fewer and fewer people who have to sweat on the job. Is it a fine thing that all enterprises try to increase the number of employed? Yes, the profusion of work is an indispensable virtue of socialism, and the social parasite is not the one who is bored because he has not enough to do, but the one who is bored at the beer-selling stand.

We approve each individual competitive merit in relation to the material standard of living. We know how to choose between good and evil, so, for instance, we announce that professional diligence is worthy of approval, while drunkenness has to be condemned, even though we ourselves prefer to drink vodka rather than to work. On the other hand, in the area of public life we do not know how to choose between one and another type of good. To the question: "Do you prefer more free time or higher pay?", we answer that we want both. When we have the higher pay in our pockets, we know how to choose. We understand then that if we buy shoes we won't be able to buy a lamp. We approve of the fact that the purchase of the shoes will mean giving up buying the lamp. In the case of general civic logical thinking, however, we are not inclined to let go of any benefit whatsoever in favor of something that we value more highly at a given moment.

Our attitude toward the crisis, out of which we are just barely emerging, is somewhat like the attitude toward the flu. A person getting the flu considers it an unavoidable nuisance in the normal course of life. The illness will disappear on its own in due time, and when that happens our former good health will return. Therefore, we think, well, this flu ought to have passed by now and we should have returned at least to the original standard of life. However, the economic situation of 1979 was at the time quite unsatisfactory. Those were the days preceding the protest whose causes were economic as well as political. In addition, the world has not changed within those years. We have on our own shoulders the economic sanctions. The world is experiencing a restructuring and intensification of the arms build-up, and it has become stern and dangerous. In order to protect the present standard of living we have limited our investments, diverting the maximum of means to current consumption needs. Yet we cannot exist long without thinking of the future, especially, since we have a great harvest in the birth rate. We are realizing reform in adverse, exceptionally difficult circumstances. We are continually patching up the economic and social ties broken during the destructive typhoon of 1981. But, amidst all the unsatisfied needs, we are also experiencing the need for optimism. The naked truth is such, however, that even optimism has to be earned, unfortunately, if it is to be based on rational thinking.

9934

CSO: 2600/193

PZPR OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON CADRE POLICY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with the director of the Central Committee Cadre Department, Tadeusz Dziekan, by Anna Pawlowska: "The Most Hackneyed Truism Is That It Is the People Who Make All the Decisions"]

[Text] [Question] The 13th Plenum of the Central Committee passed a special resolution on the main "provisions" of the party's cadre policy. These "provisions" were first discussed at various party centers and then approved by the 10th Plenum. Thus, one of the decrees of the Ninth Party Congress was carried out; it touched upon issues which aroused great emotion on account of the then huge surge of public criticism, both just and unjust. Despite all this, I cannot help but ask: Can these principles succeed in belying the old truism, which has been proved by experience, that power corrupts?

[Answer] The principles themselves cannot. They are but one facet in cultivating a cadre policy which, if complied with, can effectively reduce the threat of corruption. Whether or not the policy is successful will be determined by practice, i.e., by people themselves.

[Question] The activities of the cadre, however, as a unique area, are subject to decay.

[Answer] True. I would even say that decay is inevitable. Where are we most subjective in our thinking if not in evaluating people? What are the issues which can arouse more passion or ambition? For this reason, the need to establish a system for selecting and evaluating cadre personnel was so publicly felt; this system has to be clear and open. Here I would like to make perfectly clear that in my opinion such a system cannot be intrinsically instructional; in this respect, too much toughening can be as dangerous as absolute freedom. Insistently searching for the most ideal people will not produce a realistic cadre policy.

Besides, various characteristics and qualifications are indispensable for the different positions open: even in a homogeneous group of enterprise directors it would seem that diversified predispositions are necessary to the boss of a plant running according to the old principles of production,

as opposed to one bent on implementing innovations, or to a director of a permanent work force as opposed to a seasonal one.

[Question] How, then, would you generally sum up cadre criteria which could create some "principles"?

[Answer] We have tried to collect only those characteristics and predispositions which are identically necessary both to a minister, as well as to a gmina manager, even though they are not all guaranteed to the same degree and intensity. There are the ideological-political values arising from the socialist nature of our state and the expert qualifications and skill to take advantage of them. It is difficult to imagine the holding of any leadership position or the organization necessary for managing the work of others without them. The know-how to shape suitable and just relations in teams of people is especially important. I do not need to add that one of these criteria is obviously common honesty and a sense of responsibility for the people, public property and tasks charged to the individual.

A totally different issue is the still unsatisfied requirement to apply scientific instruments in the selection and stationing of cadre personnel, the development of very particular and specialized sets of the necessary or desired qualifications and personal characteristics of the enterprise directors of various branches, the directors of the elements of state administration at various levels, or even the chief editors of different sections of the media. All of this, however, is beyond the possibilities and authority of the party.

[Question] Precisely. Not only do our political opponents negate this right, but even extensive circles of the public do not understand why the party is now moving in on decisions affecting cadre personnel. Moreover, I have run into the view in our ranks that "involvement" in cadre issues adds to the party's headaches and shifts the entire responsibility for the incompetence and dishonesty of leadership circles in the factory, community, city and department onto the party's shoulders.

[Answer] What is this? It would really be a luxury if the party could "pass off" the exercise of its leadership role in the state. This is purely utopia! The cadre policy is becoming an inescapable part of the party's leadership role; this should be clear to every logically-thinking individual. How can one lead if he cannot influence those who make decisions and bear responsibility for them? An attack against the party's leadership role in the state is an attack against one of the pillars of the system. This is not always realized.

[Question] But the pursuit of these policies in the past decade met with the condemnation of the party itself; this condemnation was expressed during the preparation for the Ninth Party Congress and at the congress itself.

[Answer] Quite so. A 16-man congressional team dedicated many hours of discussion to this issue. Let us remember, however, what really was condemned: the lack of criteria in selecting cadre personnel, the lack of a

system for their evaluation, the lack of objectivity and clarity in these policies, the intrigue, cliquishness and favoritism.

Nevertheless, it was simultaneously emphasized very strongly that the legally governed, honest and open influence of the party on cadre issues needed to be preserved. This point was also contained in a resolution of the Party Congress and was binding on us when we prepared the "provisions." Comrade Stanislaw Antoszewski from Wroclaw Province spoke of this at the 13th Plenum...

[Question] It was she who put the issue concisely: "Let us fight for what is better and for our own interests."

[Answer] To be sure. Today, hardly anyone remembers her words; she was also a member of the 16-man team and even then spoke out about this issue. I bring this up if only to prove the continuity of effort through the "provisions." The point in this effort was not to discover mechanisms for protecting us all, society and the party from a return to former, incorrect and condemned practices by diminishing the legally stipulated influence of the party on cadre issues.

[Question] We all were looking for guarantees not only in this area...

[Answer] ...so I guess I do not have to bring up those issues which have cast a shadow on socialism and blemished the party's good name. All of these guarantees, if we can use this word at all, are contained in the party's own program--the guarantees affecting cadre issues as well. They are based on the idea that the entire party is responsible for cadre policy.

Point 33 of the program declares that no party member can be a candidate for a leadership position without the positive endorsement of his home basic party organization, and no echelon has the right to nominate him to this position without the endorsement. It is impossible to imagine any other more obvious or collective method for the conduct of cadre policy. Especially if we add the implications of other points and the entire spirit of the program that neither the basic party organization secretary nor the organization making the endorsement is permitted to omit what is thought of the candidate by his party center and his nonparty comrades at work.

[Question] The question of endorsement, above all, its revocation, is making things unclear and misunderstood.

[Answer] Although it is basically quite simple. An endorsement can be revoked by the one who made it, i.e., the echelon; better yet, its elected executive organ, which passed judgment on the candidate, has the right to ask the echelon to withdraw its endorsement because of serious and well-substantiated reasons. Meanwhile, the party member who has lost his party endorsement has the duty, I repeat, the duty to resign his office. This is one of the elements of democratic centralism which is binding on every party member without exception.

[Question] More than one comrade in a leadership position would find it difficult to agree with this...

[Answer] That is human; our nature rebels against discipline. Besides, a certain supplement, for the sake of the cadre, is necessary. The principles of intraparty life may not violate the basic order of the state or other established principles, such as who appoints whom: the premier appoints the governor, a minister the department director, the State Council the ambassador, etc. Fortunately, this order was not violated even during the most recent period of great state weakness, even though the press occasionally caused the groundless dismissal of some officials then. On the other hand, every leader has the right to choose his own assistants, taking into account that he bears total responsibility for them.

[Question] Comrade director, what do you think about such mechanisms as rotation, filling vacancies by way of competition, etc.?

[Answer] Competition for position is becoming more and more acceptable to the public and is improving the quality of the cadre. Do you recall Comrade Antoszewski's words? Competition objectively proves that more often than not whatever is "better" is also what is "ours." So far, 90 percent of all competition for positions has been won by party members. I have stated that this is objective proof. However, I wish to make a correction. I think that too few specialists not affiliated with the party are competing. They still do not believe that it is all for real. This is changing; it has to change. The dissemination of our "provisions" within society should help this change. The "provisions" are, after all, a declaration of the party's concern for cadre affairs.

Rotation is also a good and necessary mechanism. So much so that we still do not know how best to proceed with it. As the term itself suggests, rotation is a natural, regular replacement of cadres; it prevents ossification and routine. It also allows advancements. No one is thrown out or reduced in rank. We have been rotating perhaps too much recently. There have been 2,420 changes in leadership positions, including 440 changes in such positions as deputy premier, minister, governor, deputy minister, vice governor and chief editor. Two hundred mayors and town managers and 650 factory directors have been replaced. Then we had 250 replacements within the party Central Committee and 6,840 at the local level.

[Question] If I wanted to be nasty, I could call it a "merry-go-round" instead...

[Answer] Seeing the difference between a cadre rotation and a "personnel merry-go-round" is part of our political culture. Without it, every individual transfer from one position to another could be regarded as a "merry-go-round" or, on the other hand, it could result in an individual claiming a so-called equivalent position "within this rotation" after he had been previously removed because of incompetence or dishonesty.

[Question] We will avoid using the word "nomenklatura" in this interview...

[Answer] There is no reason to avoid it. Public anger, indignation and the moral protest of honest people at this so-called nomenklatura were aroused not by the appointment of certain people to certain positions, which in itself is a particular cadre concern, but by the highly advanced inviolability of the people in these positions; this was the real "merry-go-round" because only the horses changed, not the riders. We have moved away from this and are honestly trying to make this move irreversible.

[Question] Perhaps jealousy on the one hand and ambitions on the other are having an impact on cadre policy?

[Answer] Definitely. They are the bitter components of this policy, unfortunately. We really lack any kind of national collectiveness, or a capacity for individual or group self-evaluation. This can be learned, and is worth learning. And not only to facilitate the direction of cadre personnel, but to be able to live better, without being driven by the ambition of others. Sober self-evaluation should be learned by every properly functioning party organization. We should also include the cadre considerations which are emphasized by our "provisions." A review, conducted last year on the basis of a decision of the Government Presidium in the ministries and central departments, covered 13,774 people and resulted in the dismissal of 299 individuals, the conditional retention of 498 individuals and the advancement of 2,100 mature people and 1,000 candidates to the cadre reserve.

[Question] The cadre reserve is also a concept covered by the expression "skeleton key."

[Answer] Quite the contrary, it is a very effective key for cadre policy; it is also one of the guarantees for its honesty. The existence of a cadre reserve strongly impedes the manning of positions, the grabbing for "what is mine" and the mobilizing of the "merry-go-round." In the past, the entire issue almost led to the establishment of a list of cadre reserves and the concealment of this list in a safe drawer. Meanwhile, the establishment and maintenance of a reserve became a systematic effort. The "provisions" speak of the effort's clarity, criteria and additional training constantly to verify the reserve. But even this is not enough. The reserve cannot be only the subject of cadre manipulation. It needs to present people with specific tasks, and in difficult areas. No, not only to check on them, but also to allow them to gather experience.

The cadre reserve is also the actual implementation of the principle of expanding cadre selection: nonparty individuals should belong to it, inasmuch as their growing role in the exercise of power is characteristic and is a manifestation of socialist renovation: Workers should belong, inasmuch as our cadre policy is class policy; and young people should belong, inasmuch as the natural cycle of generations requires it.

[Question] Unfortunately, we will be unable to take up more closely that decision of the 13th Plenum dealing with cadre policy which refers to party officials in the very important "Code of the Party Official."

[Answer] That would have made this an entirely different interview. I can only say that all the principles we discussed refer to intraparty cadre policies, so much so that we can make even more severe and consistent demands. In the "code" we make very great demands on morality, ideology, politics and service. We have been aiming at the creation of a model for the party official with which each of us may be able to compare his behavior. Full-time work in the party is a special service; it has its own specifications. We want to develop these specifications even more distinctly. I have already mentioned how much the personnel apparatus of the party has changed; these changes exceed the number of party jobs. Many young people are working in the party: 34 percent of our political officials are under 35 years of age, including 3 first secretaries and 28 provincial committee secretaries.

[Question] There are those who are being educated by all this...

[Answer] Of course, there are. But these young people did not come to work for the party from some safe haven. They came here from struggling--from the most difficult forms thereof in factories and in the countryside. They came with the endorsement of their organizations, where they continue to remain as members. This is known. If I had to name the most important change which the entire party apparatus has undergone, I would say that today the party official, either elected or nonelected, can in no position cease being a party member; he is an equal among the equals of his basic party organization. I will again say that in this I see the only effective protection against the corruptive influence of power.

12247

CSO: 2600/227

SCHAFF'S BOOK EVOKES CONTINUING POLEMIC

Schaff's Book Reviewed

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 7-8, Jul, Sep 83 pp 132-143

[Review by Antoni Malinowski of the German-language translation of book "Ruch komunistyczny na rozdrożu" ["Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg" or The Communist Movement at a Crossroads] by Adam Schaff, Vienna, 1982; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Recently Adam Schaff has been publishing articles on various topics in certain periodicals. He also willingly grants interviews in which, as a rule, he speaks in the capacity of--as he puts it himself--the "Guru" of Marxism, in the capacity of one who has always been in the right when warning the communist movement against dangers and one whose concepts have not been accepted and translated into reality, which as a rule was bound to lead to misfortune and deformations. Accounting himself for becoming so active, he wrote: "There arises a definite need to mobilize and rally the spiritually 'unbroken' Marxists in order to provide some help to the 'broken' or 'undermined' ones. For this very reason I decided to make an appeal after 14 years of 'exile' and absolute silence in my country, this being largely a matter of personal decision. This is not the time to remember injustice and insults, even if they are experienced: in face of danger to his principles, the Marxist should voice his appeal without making any pre-conditions such as I used to make previously."/1/

But while A. Schaff's intentions are to be appreciated, it should be stated at the outset that during that period of "absolute silence in the country" he had the party publishing house Książka i Wiedza publish his works: "Historia i prawda" [History and Truth] (1970), "Szkice o strukturalizmie" [Sketches on Structuralism] (1975), and "Stereotypy a działanie ludzkie" [Stereotypes and Human Action] (1981). In addition, in the 1970s he had a number of his articles published in such periodicals as CZŁOWIEK I ŚWIATOPOGLĄD, KULTURA I SPOŁECZENSTWO and STUDIA SOCJOLOGICZNE.

In his first press comments following his return from the alleged "exile" A. Schaff dealt chiefly with the effect of scientific and technological progress in microelectronics on the directions, scope and pace of social changes as well as with the presumed social consequences of the "microprocessor revolution." In his subsequent articles he dealt with, among other things, an analysis of the events in Poland following August 1980 as well as with aspects of the dialogue with the Church. In his more recent publication he began to

deal with more fundamental matters having an explicit ideological coloration--an assessment of the situation of Marxism in Poland and criticism of real socialism or rather of "real socialism" since he always places this term in quotation marks as he does, e.g. "revisionism," and thus imbues it with a pejorative connotation. His most extensive critique of real socialism is presented in "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads," a book published in 1982 in Vienna, which he proclaims to be the concrete expression of his reflections on alienation, the application of the theory of alienation to the analysis of the socialist society.

In his initial press articles A. Schaff did not mention that book. Recently, however, he has begun to refer to it again, as for example in the interview he granted to the monthly 'ZDANIE,' declaring that he considers it to be his great accomplishment. He regards its conclusions as a result of the continuation of his anthropological-practical interests reflected in the works "Marksizm a jednostka ludzka" [Marxism and the Individual] and "Alienacja jako zjawisko społeczne" [Alienation as a Social Phenomenon] (1977, published in Vienna).

On analyzing Schaff's works it can be observed that, in principle, he has reiterated the main theses of his work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" in the articles and interviews recently published in Poland. Since I regard that work, as well as certain of the theses he enunciated in his public comments, as harmful to the development of Marxism and the worker movement, I wish to engage in a polemic with him. The more so considering that these concepts and ideas are accepted by some people as accomplishments of theory, as an expression of undogmatic, authentic Marxism.

A. Schaff's latest book is of an explicit politically tendentious nature. The judgments it presents are superficial and apodictic. They are not based on a detailed analysis of the practice of building socialism. But this does not prevent the author from formulating general theses and theories which, in his opinion, generalize the experience of the countries of real socialism. He believes that the deformations of the process of building socialism that have occurred in some socialist countries at a certain stage of their historical development are completely unrelated to the logic of the class struggle on the international scale and are a structural feature of socialism.

The present writer encounters difficulties of a twofold kind on engaging in a polemic with A. Schaff. First, these conclusions are marked by a tendency toward generalizations and poverty of detailed empirical analyses. The other difficulty consists in that most of the theses, assessments and diagnoses formulated in the work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" have already been repeated many times in the past. Some of the accusations made by Schaff against Marxism, socialism and the communist movement have already been the subject of polemics in the past, demonstrating their invalidity. But Schaff tacitly ignores them, does not respond to this fact, does not present counter-arguments to corroborate his theses which he claims to be innovative but which have essentially been already presented by others. In my further reflections I shall try to identify those of Schaff's appraisals and concepts which represent reiterations of appraisals already formulated many times previously.

Publicizing his work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" in the interview in 'ZDANIE,' Schaff claims that he had attempted in it to "identify the root

causes of mistakes. I believe that I have identified all the principal barriers. This can be verified. And unless this is done, Marxism in general cannot be turned into an intellectually attractive theory and there is no point in dreaming of its influence on the intellectuals. This is the other, profound sense of the 'crisis of Marxism.'"/2/

Apparently, according to Schaff, it is precisely his works and the propositions they contain that make Marxism an intellectually attractive theory. His theses are indeed attractive, but unfortunately to critics of Marxism and real socialism. It is also difficult to agree with his claim that in his latest work he has pointed to the causes of mistakes and barriers to the process of building socialism. This cannot be so because, among other things, his reflections are abstract, divorced from particular historical situations and lacking analysis of the social and political conditions underlying the development of discrete socialist countries. Schaff emphasizes in his Introduction to "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" that he will employ in his reflections the method of the extrapolation of universal phenomena that are "common to all types of contemporary 'real socialism,'" disregarding the differences among discrete variants which are "of little significance to the nature of the phenomenon."/3/ He declares: "Hence also I need not in my further reflections refer to particular experiences of one or another socialism-building country. The point is rather to grasp the nature of the general experience in building socialism while at the same time maintaining a seemingly deductive form of reasoning. This will enable us to avoid the complications that may ensue from dispute over the accuracy of particular historical facts. Such a dispute would indeed be of no fundamental importance and would simply afford to those interested in it a chance to obscure the heart of the matter. What is most important is that this approach is most suitable to grasping the universal patterns of development, those general patterns which are of decisive importance to the recurrence of negative phenomena."/4/

The above quotation expounds the rather singular investigative technique adopted in the work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads." Let us consider more closely the results which it has produced. The point of departure for the author's reflections is constructing a certain ideal scheme for the conditions and course of the socialist revolution. The author constructs this scheme on the basis of Marx's dictum in "The German Ideology" that, among other things, the victory of the socialist revolution requires a high level of economic development.

Commenting on this dictum of Marx regarding the premises for the socialist revolution, Schaff declares: "In this passage Marx states emphatically that, unless these conditions are met, /'die ganze alte Scheisse'/ will return--he was right, it has returned."/5/ Thus, Schaff's attitude is completely unequivocal. He declares plainly that the socialist revolutions so far have taken place contrary to Marx's assumption, in the absence of appropriate and necessary conditions, which has as a consequence led to their "alienation."

It should be stressed that Schaff's approach to the concepts propounded by Marx in "The German Ideology" has not always been as unequivocal as he makes it sound at present. In his work "Marxism and the Individual" he wrote, defining his attitude to Marx's ideas on the conditions for the revolution, contained in "The German Ideology": "Marx did not foresee the situation in which socialism at present is being actually translated into reality. It is

pointless to have pretensions to history on the grounds that it is evolving just so and not otherwise, but it seems just as pointless to close one's eyes to the fact that this evolution is happening /otherwise/, under conditions different from those initially expected, and to repeat unchanged old formulas that are adapted to the changed situation."/6/

It can be readily noted that at present the author of that observation himself has "pretensions to history" because it has evolved otherwise.

On analyzing Schaff's approach to the socialist revolution it is evident that it once again entails a problem that is well known from the history of the worker movement. For Schaff represents an attitude characteristic of the "orthodox" Marxism in the early 20th century. According to M. Waldenberg, "The social-democratic parties of the period of the Second International had a deeply and immeasurably rooted conviction that, according to Marxism, a victorious socialist revolution is possible only in countries with an extremely high level of development of productive forces. Such countries were thought to be the United States and the countries of West Europe, especially England and Germany. Let us recall that Bernstein questioned the maturity of even these countries for socialist transformations. And indeed, many of the texts--that are not of an occasional nature at all--of the creators of Marxism could provide the basis for such a conviction. The proclamation of the socialist revolution in such an economically and culturally backward country as Russia could thus seem contrary to the tenets of Marx and Engels. And such an opinion is still sometimes voiced at present. Kautsky was the first ideologist of social democracy to proclaim and stubbornly repeat this accusation."/7/

This opinion is also voiced by A. Schaff. He believes that the basic precondition for the revolution should be a suitably high level of development of the productive forces, as otherwise the revolution must become "alienated." He claims that "/Marxist/ socialism is conceived for economically highly developed and wealthy countries."/8/

In the light of Marxist studies it can be seen that to Marx the very fact of the low level of productive forces in Russia did not in itself doom the possibility of that country's taking the road of socialist transformations. /9/ His comments on that country demonstrate that he did not believe at all that a high level of productive forces is an indispensable prerequisite for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the commencement of socialist transformations.

Following the victory of the October Revolution certain worker-movement activists, and especially social democrats, reproached the Bolsheviks for disregarding objective conditions by accomplishing the socialist revolution and starting to implement socialist transformations. They questioned the socialist nature of the October Revolution. The polemic against such an assessment of the problem of Russia's ripeness for the proletarian revolution was waged by, among others, Klara Zetkin. Stressing that "historical materialism is not a collection of ready-made recipes," she wrote: "Things and people are ripe for the revolution once the broad masses of the people feel particular conditions become intolerable, once they no longer believe in the will and ability of the ruling social forces to relieve their shoulders of the intolerable burden, once they believe only in their own strength...."/10/

A. Schaff's approach to the socialist revolution is essentially doctrinaire. He does not acknowledge Lenin's contribution to the formulation of the Marxist concept of the revolution. In this way, objectively speaking, he breaches the unity of Marxism-Leninism and opposes Marx to Lenin. He does not regard Lenin as a continuator of Marx's work. He refuses to perceive, in particular, the fact that Lenin elaborated the Marxian vision of the revolution, adapted it to the changed socio-political conditions of the era of imperialism. Lenin acknowledged the plurality of the forms of transition of individual nations from capitalism to socialism. This plurality is not admitted, unfortunately, by Adam Schaff. He is fixated in the stage of "The German Ideology." Lenin's elaboration of the theory of the socialist revolution and its creative application by Bolsheviks and subsequently by communists in the countries of people's democracies is considered by Schaff as a deformation of the original concept. Besides, he resolutely criticizes the revolutions in these countries, claiming that they took place in the absence of any domestic motive power for the development of the revolutionary process. He writes that "the rise of the so-called countries of people's democracy in eastern and southern Europe was a consequence of the World War and the attendant relationship among the great powers and not a result of some spontaneous revolutionary upsurge in Europe."/11/

In proclaiming views of this kind, Schaff essentially repeats the anti-communist thesis of "export of the revolution." We have repeatedly observed various embodiments of that thesis in Poland after August 1980 when counter-revolutionary activists had claimed that socialism lacks national roots in Poland and was imported from outside. For example, in one of his utterances Adam Michnik declared: "The genesis of People's Poland is located outside Poland. It is rooted in the decisions of the Yalta Conference and the evolution of military actions during World War II. At the Yalta Conference the three great allies--Great Britain, the United States and the USSR--divided the world into spheres of influence....This disrupted the continuity of the polity of the Second Polish Republic and real power was seized by a government supported and inspired by the USSR, a government whose basic and leading element was the PPR [Polish Workers' Party, now the PZPR].

A. Schaff has joined the proponents of this diversionary thesis. Like the representatives of bourgeois historiography, he attempts to account for the victory of the people's-democracy revolutions by resorting to the compromised theory of "export of the revolution." As Norbert Kolomejczyk states, "The anti-communist concept of export of the revolution is /contrary/ to objective facts and actual processes of historical development. The people's-democracy revolutions were a result of the /social development/ of the countries and nations of Central and Southeastern Europe as well as of the correct /strategy/ of the communist /parties/ which, acting in consonance with the interests of the nations, the working class and the popular masses, succeeded in organizing the forces of the revolution and leading them to victory.

"The victory of the revolution was made possible by the intricate /knot/ of /domestic/ factors--representing the decisive motive power of the changes--and /external/, international factors conducive to the success of the revolution. Owing to these actively interrelated factors, the /fundamental contradiction/ between labor and capital, between capitalism and socialism, has been success-

fully resolved by revolutionary means as a consequence of the victory of the people's revolutions."/12/

Schaff concludes, on analyzing the changes in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, that the implementation of the socialist revolution is "anti-Marxist, in the absence of the objective and subjective conditions necessary for that revolution, even if the communist parties are implementing these changes in the name of Marxism-Leninism."/13/

Like the representatives of bourgeois historiography and various counter-revolutionary groups, A. Schaff, ignoring the facts, considers the formation of the countries of people's democracies, including People's Poland, to be a result of the Soviet Union's intervention and influence. He claims that the victory of the socialist revolution in Poland was decided by the "state-military interests of the USSR" /14/ and that socialism was introduced against the will and in spite of the resistance of the Polish society. Schaff asserts that Polish communists, like communists in other countries of the socialist bloc, committed the "original sin" in implementing the revolution and introducing socialism despite the absence of the necessary conditions.

The socialist revolution cannot--contrary to the assertions of the book's author--be brought about by any outside forces. In order for changes of a socialist nature to take place, there must exist in a given country an appropriate combination of socio-political forces along with domestic motive power for the revolutionary process.

On analyzing the development of the revolutionary process in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, the positive influence of the Soviet Union on it indeed cannot be underestimated. On examining the genesis of the people's-democracy revolutions, which have become the new form of the socialist revolution elaborated under particular historical and social conditions such as arose in that part of Europe, one should perceive the organic linkage and mutual conditioning of the domestic and foreign factors in revolutionary transformations. Thanks to the support of the USSR, the leftist forces were provided with favorable conditions for foiling the restoration of rule by reactionary forces and accomplishing revolutionary transformations. However, attributing the victory of the revolution in these countries solely to intervention by the USSR conflicts with fundamental historical facts and the logic of the class struggle. For essentially, following World War II, we had been dealing not with any "export of the revolution" but with export of the counter-revolution. Here it should be borne in mind that in certain countries of West Europe the growing democratic movement of the masses demanding fundamental changes has been "neutralized" and sometimes even brutally suppressed by the forces of the Allies stationed in these countries. A classic example of export of the counter-revolution was the armed intervention of Great Britain in Greece, where the movement of the masses desiring to change the existing conditions had been suppressed by force.

In Central and Southeastern Europe the communist parties combined the tasks of the national-liberation struggle with the struggle for social liberation. They rallied broad social forces within the popular fronts. They developed a program for the reconstruction of sovereign countries and for revolutionary political-systemic, social and economic changes. The premises for these changes were harbored in the class contradictions, socio-economic structure

and the system of class and political forces that arose during World War II. Objective premises for the people's-democracy revolutions had been rooted in the social antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between landlordism and the exploited masses of the peasantry. They did not disappear during World War II but instead they then took on a new form. There had existed sufficiently developed social forces which were the bearers of socialist social transformations and which strived to translate them into reality.

The reforms initiated in 1944 became the motive power of revolutionary changes in Poland and the foundation of the new edifice of the Republic. The radical changes initiated in 1944 did away with the political and economic supremacy of the bourgeoisie and landlords and elevated the working class and the peasantry to the role of the ruling class. The stage of building and consolidating a new systemic formation, of gradual transition to socialism, had begun. That was also a stage of the resolution of a number of issues that had been for years of concern to the society and had been causing class and social conflicts.

On 6 September 1944 the Polish Committee for National Liberation proclaimed the historic decree on the agrarian reform. Its implementation occurred in several stages. By the end of 1944 the state had expropriated 1741 land holdings with an aggregate area of 320,678 hectares. At the time, 212,084 hectares had been distributed to 109,899 families. Altogether, during the years 1944-1948 the peasants received grants of more than 6 million hectares of land owing to the agrarian reform and settlement of new lands and 814,000 new farms were established, including 466,800 on the recovered Western Territories, with 254,400 farms being augmented in size. The agrarian reform solved the fundamental issue of concern to the Polish countryside, consolidated the worker-peasant alliance and eliminated the landlord class.

Next to the agrarian reform, the second foundation for the development of the national economy in the socialist direction was the nationalization of industry, sanctioned by the decree of 3 January 1946 of the People's Council in Poland (KRN). It provided for the expropriation of all private plants employing more than 50 workers per shift. Pursuant to this decree, 3,397 enterprises became public property. The nationalization of industry was one of the basic elements of the revolutionary strategy of the PPR and the entire bloc of the Polish left. It had resulted in eliminating capitalist exploitation in Poland and served to initiate socialist transformations in that sphere of the national economy, implement the program for socialist industrialization.

The transformations of the social base implemented within the framework of the socialist revolution were accompanied in Poland by fundamental changes in the sphere of the superstructure, by a veritable cultural and educational revolution. Already the Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKWN) had declared that one of the most urgent tasks of that committee would be rebuilding the school system in the Recovered Western Territories and assuring free public education at all levels.

These tasks were consistently implemented by the people's authorities. Not only have schools been rebuilt and expanded but also has the entire educational system been reformed. The system of national education and culture has been democratized, eliminating major disproportions in the possi-

bilities for cultural participation among discrete social strata and creating and developing conditions for that participation, especially among the workers and peasants.

These manifold revolutionary changes in conditions of governing, property ownership, labor and a broadly conceived culture were actively supported by the working class and the progressive strata of the people, which acknowledged them as the translation into reality of their own class and political interests. The assertion that the socialist revolution in Poland lacked the necessary premises and took place contrary to the will of the basic social forces of the people is in conflict with the most obvious facts.

A. Schaff acts in the role of a resolute critic of the socialist countries. He states: "In no way am I a panegyricist of the practice of the contemporary form of the communist movement, and especially of the form termed 'real socialism.'" /15/ The point is not that of becoming a panegyricist of socialism, because that is what Schaff had already been once: his attitude in the 1950s is the best proof. What matters most is that analysis of the socialist reality should be approached thoroughly on taking into account all the complex conditions of the process of socialist construction. This prerequisite is unfortunately not met by Schaff. Absolutizing certain negative tendencies in the development of the socialist societies, magnifying them, he emphatically criticizes real socialism and rejects it as an alternative to the capitalist society. At the same time, he attempts to imply that socialism in the countries of real socialism does not correspond to that envisioned by the classics and especially by Marx. Jacek Tittenbrun, perceiving these machinations in the article "A Crisis of Marxism or Marxists," astutely comments: "A tacit premise of the conclusions of Adam Schaff appears to be the conviction that socialism in the countries of the so-called bloc, if it can ultimately be called, that can only be called so on being tagged with the adjective 'flawed' or 'false' socialism, as distinguished from the 'real' or 'ideal socialism' meant by the classics of Marxism. But by the same token does not the author of that article--which contains many aspects of a polemic against dogmatism and doctrinairism--himself take a position reflecting a kind of dogmatism that consists in thinking of socialism in the categories of differences from its normative model, a model that is more or less constructed from scattered comments and thoughts of the classics? By adopting such a position one falls into the trap of idealism; reality then ceases to be investigated per se but may be treated only from the standpoint of the degree of deviation from the ideal; it ceases to be 'real' reality at all and becomes an 'untrue,' 'falsified,' etc. reality." /16/

Schaff's position in this respect is neither original nor innovative. In recent years there have been advanced many theories and assessments which, by referring to the classics, are intended to discredit modern Marxism and the practice of building socialism. Such a position does not always ensue from ill will. Certain theoreticians attempt to find a solution to the principal problems of the present by chiefly consulting the works of the classics. Being aware of these tendencies, Yuriy Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated as follows in his article "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Certain Problems of Socialist Construction in the USSR": "He is right nowadays who, on asking himself 'What is socialism?', seeks the answer primarily in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. But it is no longer possible to confine oneself to this alone. At present the concept of 'socialism' can no

longer be explained without taking into account the immeasurably rich practical experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union as well as of the other fraternal countries. That experience reveals the complexity of the numerous problems arising on the path of building socialism, but it also demonstrates that only socialism is capable of resolving optimally the complex problems of the life of society."/17/

Analyzing certain negative occurrences attending the development of the socialist society, Yuriy Andropov offers the reminder: "Even when socialist production relations are ultimately created, some retain or even reproduce individualist habits, the desire to attain something at the expense of others, at the expense of society. All this is, to use Marx's terminology, a consequence of alienation and does not automatically and immediately disappear from consciousness even though alienation itself has already been eliminated."/18/

A. Schaff's attitude toward alienation is fundamentally different. He believes that, owing to the "original sign, that is, owing to the implementation of socialism in the absence of the conditions necessary for it, the outgrowths of alienation multiply: bureaucracy, the apparatus of duress, etc. In his opinion, alienation of the revolution and a change in its nature and substance have taken place in the countries of real socialism. This process has resulted in a phenomenon which he defines as the peaceful counter-revolution, i.e. in distorting the revolution into the counter-revolution which stems not from conscious human action but from the growth of that spontaneous process. The persons who participate in this process are unaware of it. This process progresses and develops regardless of whether the individuals participating in it are or are not aware of it. They are convinced that they are implementing socialism. In reality, they are implementing the counter-revolution.

A. Schaff states that he is introducing the concept of alienation of the revolution because he believes that, in the light of Marxist theory, this is the best definition of a process which others term "betrayal" of the revolution. Thus, in this case, too, we are not dealing with anything new. For the concept of alienation of the revolution displays an affinity with the thesis of the "betrayed" revolution proclaimed by Trotskyites and representatives of the West European extreme left in the second half of the 1920s, whose major exponents included Karl Korsch who had accused the Bolsheviks of "betrayal" of the revolution and counter-revolutionary tendencies.

Schaff devotes much space in his "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" to bureaucracy in the socialist societies. He views the bureaucracy as a social stratum which dominates the life of the socialist society and completely controls and subordinates to itself the individual. He believes that these tendencies have led to the rise of "bureaucratic socialism" in the socialist countries, and he views it as an anti-democratic, deformed and degenerated form of socialism. Any reader who is moderately familiar with anti-communist literature will perceive that in this case, too, A. Schaff is not saying anything new. For here we are dealing with an accusation that has been repeatedly made in the past and at present. Adherents of the concept of "bureaucratic socialism" can be found both among bourgeois Sovietologists and in the leftist camp. Adam Schaff also has joined them.

Schaff claims that the reign of the bureaucracy in the existing socialist societies is monopolist and omnipotent. He states that the "bureaucratic apparatus," consisting of various "apparats" such as those of the state, the party, the security service, strives to subordinate society totally to itself.

He ascribes a particularly pernicious role to the "party bureaucracy," a term which he applies to the party apparatus. He locates the "party bureaucracy" at the apex of the "bureaucratic hierarchy" that has arisen in the socialist societies. He views the functioning of the socialist society in categories of competition among the discrete "apparats" of power. On the one hand, Schaff's treatment of the place and role of the bureaucracy in the socialist societies displays an affinity with Trotskyist and neo-Trotskyist theories (J. Burnham, M. Djilas) and, on the other, it is combined with methods of analysis employed in the works of well-known Sovietologists.

Schaff announces that the dictatorship of the proletariat merely serves to camouflage the "dictatorship of the apparatus." He believes that in the socialist countries there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat; there can only be "dictatorship in the name of the proletariat." Here, too, Schaff is not original in voicing views of this type. They have been voiced many times in the past, starting as early as in the 1920s. For example, after he was expelled from the KPD [German Communist Party] in the mid-1920s, K. Korsch announced that a "dictatorship against the proletariat" had arisen in the Soviet Union.

Concerning the approach to bureaucracy presented by Schaff, let me merely point out that in this matter he is essentially not saying anything new. "Accusations" of this kind have already been often made in the past. It is difficult to engage in a polemic with his ideas as based on their merit. After all, his treatment of bureaucracy displays similarities with many other theses offered in the work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads." They are of a generalized, abstract nature, unsupported by specific facts. Thereby they become pure speculation divorced from analysis of the concrete reality. For he even plainly states: "I have discussed in a general way, that is, without citing specific facts on which this generalization is based, the principal conflicts characterizing the situation of the bureaucracy in socialism."/19/

The principal feature of the work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" is, next to its negation of the practice of real socialism, its critique of Leninism and especially of the Leninist concept of the party of a new type. Here too A. Schaff presents theses and "arguments" which have already been voiced often in the past by individuals with extremely differentiated theoretical and political orientations. Three main currents may be distinguished among them: Leninology, Eurocommunism and the New Left. They are prompted by differing motives, to be sure, but their criticism of Leninism converges so far as the fundamental issues are concerned. Kazimierz Ochocki has stated: 'The object of particularly fierce Leninological and Eurocommunist attacks on Leninism is Lenin's doctrine of the proletarian party of a new type and the experience gained so far in the existence and functioning of the communist parties, particularly the parties in the socialist countries. Bowing under the concentrated fire of bourgeois criticism and propaganda, certain communist parties, speaking through the mouths of their leaders, part with Leninism, with Lenin's teachings on the party, proclaiming them to be obsolete and in-

consonant with the conditions of the modern developed capitalist countries." /20/

Adam Schaff openly proclaims his sympathy for Eurocommunism. In one of his interviews he declared as follows regarding his contacts with Eurocommunists: "I have been trying to...cooperate and cooperating to the extent to which I believed that Eurocommunism formulates certain views close to mine which I have expressed in my latest book. Unfortunately, various things that happened have caused Eurocommunism to collapse." /21/ There is thus nothing surprising in the fact that a leading theoretician of Eurocommunism, M. Azcarate, wrote the Foreword to the work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads"---a foreword in which he praises it as an achievement of critical Marxist thought.

Schaff treats Leninism as the "product of a Stalinist codification of Marxism which in many points differs from Lenin." /22/ He criticizes, in particular, the Leninist concept of the party of a new type, denying it the value of universality. He believes that it was created during the period of tsarist absolutism and that Lenin regarded it as adequate solely to the conditions of the Russia of that period and Russia alone. He states that "the Leninist model arose in response to the specific conditions of tsarist Russia." /23/

By denying universal features to the Leninist model of the party, Schaff distorts Leninism. Besides, this is an operation which he performs repeatedly. He claims, e.g. that the right to form groups--a term he employs to camouflage factionalism--within the bosom of the party in order to draft appropriate documents, and even the right to elect delegates to the congress on the basis of different platforms, is "purest Leninism."

While criticizing real socialism, Schaff places great hopes in Eurocommunism, viewing it as a desirable alternative. He claims that, "in the struggle against the model of bureaucratic socialism," one should "consistently implement the program of Eurocommunism, deepen its substance and the conclusions ensuing from it, and translate them into practice, without at the same time abandoning activities aimed at a gradual liberalization and democratization of the existing model of 'real socialism.'" /24/ A. Schaff further states that "serious hopes for a rebirth of the communist movement are nowadays linked with...(Eurocommunism). I emphasize--hopes and not certainties." /25/

As soon as a year after this pathetic confession was written, it turned out that A. Schaff's hopes and expectations did not become fulfilled. Eurocommunism has collapsed, as he himself admitted in the aforementioned interview in 'ZDANIE.' This became particularly evident as exemplified by the Spanish Communist Party. K. Kik states: "The Eurocommunist strategy launched by Carrillo did not prove itself and did not attract thousands of new adherents to the party; on the contrary, the party has clearly been losing public support. The general elections of 28 October 1982 were the decisive element. Their results clearly demonstrated the fiasco of S. Carrillo's policy. The party lost about 1.2 million voters (compared with the election results of 1979). Its parliamentary representation fell to 4 from 23 deputies. Its membership is not even half as large as it had been at the time of the 9th Congress." /26/

*

In the present article I have touched only on the problems I consider as crucial in Adam Schaff's work "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads." However, that work contains a number of other matters, theses and appraisals which also require critical analysis.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. Schaff, "A Crisis of Marxism or Marxists?" TU I TERAZ, 16 Mar 1983.
2. ZDANIE, No 4, 1983, p 24.
3. A. Schaff, "Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg," Vienna, 1982, p 28.
4. Ibid., pp 28-29.
5. A. Schaff, "Marxism Today. The Importance of the Marxist Theory of Alienation," STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE, March 1983, p 11.
6. A. Schaff, "Marksizm a jednostka ludzka" [Marxism and the Individual], Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965, pp 269-270.
7. M. Waldenberg, "Wzlot i upadek Karola Kautsky'ego [The Rise and Fall of Karl Kautsky], Vol II, Krakow, 1972, p 322.
8. A. Schaff, "Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg," op.cit., p 60.
9. Cf. M. Waldenberg, op. cit., pp 324-345.
10. Ibid., p 331.
11. A. Schaff, "Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg," op. cit., p 32.
12. "Miedzynarodowy ruch robotniczy" [The International Worker Movement], Vol 2, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1976, p 195.
13. A. Schaff, "Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg," op. cit., p 174.
14. Ibid., p 177.
15. Ibid., p 17.
16. TU I TERAZ, 11 May 1983.
17. Yu. Andropov, "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Certain Problems of Building Socialism in the USSR," IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, No 4, 1983, pp 20-21.
18. Ibid., p 9.
19. A. Schaff, "Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg," op. cit., p 79

20. K. Ochocki, "Contemporary Controversies Concerning the Leninist Model of the Party," IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, No 7-8, 1982, pp 43-44
21. ZDANIE, No 4, 1983, p 30.
22. A. Schaff, "Die kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg," op. cit., p 103.
23. Ibid., p 116.
24. Ibid., p 149.
25. Ibid.
26. POLITYKA, 20 Nov 1982.

Road to Socialism Examined

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 83 pp 1,3,7

[Article by Tadeusz Mendelski: "On a Certain Concept of 'Becoming Ripe for Socialism'"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] First of all, let us define that concept in its main features, letting its author discuss it as broadly as possible: "Hence also the thesis...that 'A. Schaff is making a camouflaged attempt, as I see it, to smuggle in the thesis that the revolutionary, specific socio-political changes in our country have been premature' demonstrates that the author is unfamiliar with my writings. I am not camouflaging any contraband. The source of our difficulties consists in that our country was not ripe for socialism." (A. Schaff, "A Reply to Critics," TU I TERAZ, No 32, 1983).

Distribution of Wealth

"Ripeness for the revolution" is defined in the form of four conditions, with two deriving from Marx himself and two from Gramsci. The "objective" conditions postulated by Marx himself are: "a high level of economic development so that a distribution of wealth could be carried out /immediately/ after the revolution (the egalitarianism of poverty is not socialism); a high level of the working class, such that it can cope with the requirements of modern technology. The concurrent victory of the revolution in the /decisive/ countries, so as to protect the revolution against external danger and the deluge of nationalism." (A. Schaff, "Marxism Today. The Importance of the Marxist Theory of Alienation" STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE, No 3, 1983. All subsequent quotations are taken from that article.) And the two "subjective" conditions elaborated by Gramsci are: the theory of the social consensus and the postulate of "revolutionary patience." For the former, "the point is that a victorious socialist revolution is impossible without the support of a majority of the society; the point is not only to achieve such a consensus in the struggle against the ancient regime but also for the cause of new, socialist construction." Here an exceptional role is to be played by the intelligentsia and its work to awaken consciousness among the masses so as to prepare that consensus. Since, however, in today's capitalist world somehow there is no sign of those swarms of the Marxist intelligentsia imbuing the masses with

awareness of the need for a ripe socialist revolution--and it can even be said that the capitalist have taken good care, insofar as they could, to prevent too wide a propagation of any theories of a revolution against capitalism--the postulate of "revolutionary patience" appears logical.

This hardly felicitous formulation by Gramsci--we should rather have expected revolutionary enthusiasm from that revolutionary--which might be understood in the context of the situation of the Italian revolutionary movement during the Fascist era, becomes here a major factor in camouflaging the disavowal, discrediting and denigration of really existing socialism and revolutions really accomplished by the "impatient ones" who refuse to listen to "good counsel." Thus, continuing his exposition, Schaff claims: "Hence, looking backward, we can readily see that in the case of the countries of 'real socialism' (these inverted commas of Schaff say everything--T. M.) all these conditions and postulates of Marxism have been disregarded--the actions taken were contrary to them and sometimes (as e.g. in the case of Poland) quite deliberately at that....Hence also burdening Marxism with the blame for the present crisis of 'real socialism' is unfair. The responsibility here is borne not by Marxism but by those who have, by misapplying it, in reality acted as anti-Marxists."

Referring to his theory of alienation, Schaff--as he asserts--offers a diagnosis and proposes a course of therapy. To the capitalist countries (in which he does not find anything especially disturbing) he recommends a tranquil, vague "ripening" and cultivation of the virtue of "revolutionary patience." But as for the state of the countries of "real socialism," it is bad and the disalienationologist-therapist Schaff does not conceal this: "The problem of disalienationist 'therapy' in the case of the countries of 'real socialism' is much more difficult. Once 'the original sin' of implementing socialism in the absence of the necessary objective and subjective conditions has been committed, duress is the only means of life-support. Alienated neoplasms multiply: bureaucracy, the apparatus of duress, etc. The system of society is too feeble to afford democracy, since that would sweep it off the face of the earth."

In such a situation it would be quite natural to propose a return to the capitalist system--where ideal democracy reigns and alienation is not as threatening or at any rate does not exist in its worst forms such as the alienation of the revolution, the bureaucracy and the apparatus of duress, since as known life in the capitalist countries is a life of complete freedom, bliss and plenty....True, Schaff does not pose the matter that openly, and he even leaves some chances to socialism, provided that his theory of disalienation is accepted, a struggle is waged "within the worker movement by criticism and a push toward reforms, on realizing, however, that this may be a gradual and slow process."

If we now also consider that Schaff shows an understanding of certain elements of our postwar situation, and especially of the necessity for certain major measures in the late 1940s ("the hastening of the process of transformations was, I believe, influenced by the international situation in the second half of the 1940s when the threat of a new war had existed. And from this standpoint, that was a just decision, although its consequences have to be paid for to this day"), and supports the declaration of the martial law, the conclusion of POLITYKA that Schaff does not advocate "pushing backward the hands on the clock" (No 36, 1983) may be accepted with a feeling of relief

that actually nothing like this has happened and the author merely displayed a healthy dose of criticism when interpreting Marxism's attitude toward reality and thus this can only be of assistance to our socialist construction, and particularly to Marxism itself, because an excellent method for relieving Marxism of the odium of responsibility for the crisis has been proposed.

But such an opinion would be superficial. What actually happened gravely affects both socialism and Marxism--the bond between them has been cut and the thus separated two parts of that whole were subjected to a cruel treatment that completely distorts their meaning. Marxism as a theory unmasking the inhuman nature of the capitalist system is turned by Schaff's theory of alienation into, properly speaking, a kind of apology for the contemporary developed capitalist countries. Schaff dons the toga of the severe public prosecutor only with respect to the socialist countries, refusing to acknowledge any arguments in favor of the pertinence and validity of the accomplished revolutions. As for really existing socialism, in his analyses it is presented as one of the greatest misfortunes of the 20th century, compared with which the others pall as it were.

Denying the Splendor

The harmfulness of such views I see as consisting chiefly and precisely in that they obscure and defile the splendor of socialism as something that was tenaciously accomplished and exists in reality as part of the modern world. These conclusions of Schaff somehow leave an acrid and bad taste. Schaff's reflections are imbued with pessimism and hopelessness and even with a kind of malicious enjoyment: that revolution, allegedly not desired by anyone, accomplished in the wrong place and at the wrong time, and inconsonant with the presumed ideas of Marx himself, is presented by Schaff as yet another historic disaster befalling this unfortunate nation. The article maligns and defames socialism as a value that has been translated into reality--and this is the keenest of all possible blows to the universal consciousness of our society. The socialist state, when deprived of a clear image of the purpose of the transformations being implemented, stands at once on the brink of an abyss: the attempt to reinforce the value represented by socialism with other values such as independence or "geopolitics" can be only of a provisional nature. For an idea that is lofty, valuable and being implemented, one can bear a great deal and unchain unexpected energies within oneself. But in face of something that is undesired, unloved or despised, even positive facts cease to mean anything.

Well and good, someone might say, let a brave man come forth and tell the whole truth. Perhaps after we learn it, now relieved of the baggage of unneeded illusions, we will together find a way out. Truth, no matter how bitter, is preferable to living in an illusion.

Of course, yes--any truth is better than illusions, but under one basic condition: that it is indeed the whole objective truth. That indeed the entire essence of the Marxist theory of the class struggle, the revolution and socialism is contained in a couple of these in "The German Ideology" to which Schaff refers above all, as well as in a couple of Gramsci's themes. That Marxism is incapable of offering anything else than a gloomy image of countries suffering from their "premature" socialism, countries that are socialist only in inverted commas and the optimistic image of a well-fed, conflict-free,

tranquility developing world of capital that is bit by bit "growing ripe" for socialism. Nota bene, this is a truly beautiful image producing the impression that it is borrowed from anything rather than Marxist analysis.

The glaring inconsonance of this method of analysis with contemporary developed Marxism, and especially with Lenin's contribution to the theory of the revolution and socialism, has been demonstrated by J. Ladosz, M. Dobrosielski, S. Opara, A. Malinowski and M. Orzechowski. This does not mean, however, that all that could be said on this matter has been said. For this phenomenon is of a vast scope, has deep historical roots and extensive ties to the entire contemporary world of the non- and anti-Marxist thought. To understand better the functions of this concept, let us consider the history of Marxism, which in this respect is very instructive. Viewed against this background, this is neither a new nor an extraordinary concept, and neither are its social functions in any way original.

The Marxism of the Well-Fed Ones

It happened in a manner that was initially as simple as natural and possible. In the first few years following Marx's death, Engels became the chief authority and, especially after the formation of the Second International, the concept that came to the fore was that the ideal locus for implementing the ideas of socialism is the countries of the most highly developed capitalism, and especially Germany--the birthplace and the locale of the greatest influence of Marx's modern theory of socialism. Here the fact is worth noting that Marx himself, whose thoughts were directed at treating capital as a worldwide phenomenon, also considered the possibilities for the victory of socialism in the less developed countries, for example in Russia. The German social democracy, however, had leaned toward its own "leading" role--a tendency to which Engels largely contributed in his last years. Dazzled by the electoral and parliamentary successes of that undoubtedly largest and theoretically strongest worker party at the time, Engels was prompted to make many incautious comments which influenced the strategy and tactics of the worker movement of the entire era of the Second International. As a corollary, the need to defend Germany as a whole in the event of an attack by France or Russia was acknowledged in order to preserve the German social democracy, and the dates of the coming victory of socialism in Germany were given in various newspaper interviews.

Following Engels's death the situation changed so much that, almost at once, ironically as it were, it was precisely Eduard Bernstein, Engels's friend and the executor of his testament, who introduced a major change in the approach to the tasks of the German social democracy, the worker party of that most rapidly developing and wealth-amassing capitalist country at the turn of the century. He believed that, since the "ripening for socialism" was so satisfactory in Germany, perhaps a revolution would not be needed after all and, in general, all the revolutionary aspects of Marxism should be abandoned (for the sake--as Schaff would say nowadays--of the need to avert the "revolutionary alienation"). And although Bernstein's revisionist theses had, upon their publication, met with an apparently uniform avalanche of criticism--from Kautsky, Mehring, and Labrioff to Rosa Luxembourg, Jaures and Plekhanov, that is, from nearly all the then important theoreticians of the Second International, barely 10 years later, at the 1907 congress in Stuttgart, the devastation caused by Bernstein's theory in the revolutionary worker movement in not only Germany but all the richest countries of West Europe became

obvious. Bernstein's thesis of a mild transformation of capitalism into socialism actually prepared the ground for the incorporation of social democracy into capitalism, its abandonment of the revolutionary ambitions of the worker movement. But what is here worst and most significant is the increasingly obvious overlapping of the guidelines for action of German social democracy with the interests of the increase in the might and wealth of the German Empire, which went so far that German social democrats began to consider the principles of future socialist colonial policy and nearly adopted a corresponding resolution at their congress. A socialist colonial policy! The significance of such a policy should be considered, as should be the extent of the betrayal of the fundamental principles of socialism as a system liberating all people, which such a policy implies. Previously, the resolutions of the congresses had contained, in accordance with the elementary tendency of Marxism, uncompromising condemnations of bourgeois colonial policy as a policy of depredation and force. That time, however--and that is the exact birthdate of that Marxism of the well-fed ones, of the rich and mighty of this world--the theory termed Marxist disregarded the kind of exploitation to which colonial and dependent countries are subjected, and theoreticians close to Bernstein began to mumble about the "civilizing mission" and "greater humanitarianism" of socialist colonialism, failing to realize that this is the greatest insult to the ideas of socialism--this explicit allying with exploitation and hence also with imperialism, which is the shortest road toward socio-Chauvinism.

The acceptance of continued colonial exploitation after the establishment of the socialist state creates a whole new perspective from which to view the correctness of the class struggle. The division of the world into the better-off and the worse-off, into those more and those less ripe for socialism or those completely unripe for it, is accepted as a quite natural corollary. Those better-off ones, mature ones, organize for themselves bit by bit the socialist revolution (which proves to be not so stormy in Bernstein's version), displaying the virtue of "revolutionary patience." They wanted first of all to enrich themselves before they could immediately begin to distribute the wealth (as Schaff absolutely desires nowadays). And there is no harm at all if that wealth is based on the slave labor of the colonies, on inhuman exploitation, poverty and the debasement of those "worse-off," whether they live in some distant exotic colonies or in the nearer dependent countries.

Lenin's Courage

But there was one man who perceived the horrifying meaning of that "socialist colonial policy" and viewed it as not only a tragic error of the worker movement but also a mortal danger to its principal dimension, that is, the international dimension. That man was Lenin, who attended that congress and took an active part in its work. It can be said that it was then that, for the first time, doubt was conceived in the revolutionary possibilities of the West European worker movement, as well as in the value of that "ripeness" for socialism and the revolution, which had until then been an unquestioned truth.

In his report on the Stuttgart Congress, Lenin stated: "This vote on the colonial question is extremely important. For the first time, socialism opportunism capitulating in face of bourgeois fleshpots, has manifested itself here with special clarity. Secondly, this reflects a negative aspect of the European worker movement, which may cause great damage to the cause of the

proletariat and hence deserves special attention. Marx has repeatedly pointed to a remark by Sismondi which is of tremendous significance. The proletarians of the antiquity--according to that remark--lived at the expense of society. Modern society lives at the expense of the proletariat. The class of those who own no property but do not work is incapable of overthrowing the exploiters. Only the class of the proletarians, which supports the entire society, is capable of accomplishing the social revolution. But now the expansive colonial policy has resulted in that the European proletariat finds itself partially in a situation in which the entire society is supported not by its labor but by the labor of colonial natives kept in a condition of virtual slavery. The English bourgeoisie, for example, derives more income from the dozens and hundreds of millions of the inhabitants of India and its other colonies than from English workers. Under such conditions there arises in certain countries a material situation, an economic basis, for poisoning the proletariat of one country or another with colonial Chauvinism."

Lenin understood perfectly, and stated unequivocally, that the "possibility of a fundamental acceptance of colonial policy by socialists...would represent a direct adoption of the bourgeois position. It would mean a definite step in the direction of subordinating the proletariat to bourgeois ideology, bourgeois imperialism, which now is rearing its head with exceptional arrogance."

But at the same time, as introduced by Lenin on a broad scale, such a direction of analyses and such an extension of the perspective of the class struggle in the highly developed countries to the colonies and dependent less developed countries, such a consideration of the highest-developed capitalist countries in relation to the sources of their looted wealth and enslaved people, is the secret of the theoretical and practical successes of Leninist Marxism. This is perfectly clear to anti-Marxism and anti-communism. Popper, for example, devotes particularly much effort to proving the unprovable thesis that the possession of colonies, of economically dependent countries, has no effect at all on the growth in the wealth of the most highly developed capitalist countries. Those bourgeois theoreticians who view the actual situation more honestly, reveal this connection quite unequivocally: for example, not only Salvador Allende but also the French political sociologist Maurice Duverger link the wealth of, e.g. the United States to the poverty of South America. Even journalists of NEWSWEEK, when they find that every tightening of the belt in the highly developed countries means a tightening of the noose around the neck of the colonial countries, thereby express unwittingly their support for the law of capitalist accumulation as revealed by Marx in "Capital." As applied to international capital as a unity, this accumulation engenders precisely such phenomena, continually compounding the contrast between the world of capital and the world of poverty of primarily the Third World but also of the less developed countries or their less developed regions such as for example Southern Italy. This is confirmed in an astounding manner by the analysis of Lenin, who stated: "Typical of this era are not only the two basic groups of countries: the colony-owning countries and the colonies, but also varied forms of politically dependent countries that are formally autonomous but in reality entangled in a spiderweb of financial and diplomatic dependence." Nowadays the only difference is that most of the former colonies have joined that second group--international exploitation by capital has grown since Lenin's times.

It is worth noting here that, as Lukacs has pointed out, this issue of the international nature of capital and the consequence of this fact to the class struggle was not alien to Marx who emphatically declared that the exploitation of Ireland by England not only is the key to grasping the might of English capitalism, which from the beginning was of an imperialist nature, but also is bound to affect the attitude of the English working class and its readiness for the revolution. For it is then that there appeared for the first time a combination of the objective economic-social conditions that were subsequently so characteristic of the period of the Second International and the entire 20th century, conditions resulting in a schism among the exploited and the oppressed. It was thence that crept out the nightmare of nationalism--the power of the slogans of "Solidarity"--class bonds prove to be less important or quite unimportant, and often irrational national bonds move to the foreground. Schaff links nationalism to the unsuccessful world revolution, but in reality nationalism broke out earlier within the worker movement, has always been skillfully manipulated, and it was precisely nationalism that prevented that world revolution when as far back as in 1912 the Congress of the Second International in Basel viewed the possible outbreak of war as a chance to be exploited for aiming rifles at the capitalists in one's own country. But instead, French and German workers engaged in mutual slaughter.

Imperialism Today

The economic laws of imperialism, which Lenin analyzed in such detail--so admired by Lukacs in the essay written in 1924--on synthetically utilizing the entire Marxist knowledge of social life and applying it to disentangle the picture of the worldwide situation, come here to the fore. As a result, winning the battle or the entire war against international capital, whose threat to the revolution is the greatest, must be element number one in the strategy and tactics of every twentieth-century revolutionary. Salvador Allende, who trusted Engels more than he did Lenin, as well as his country, paid the highest price for disregarding that threat. Allende had forgotten the fundamental tenet of the previously accomplished revolutions, namely, that they succeed only when, for some reason, international capital and the imperialism supporting it are weakened--for example, by destructive internal wars. The fact that the actually happening socialist revolutions were the indirect consequences of two great world wars caused by imperialism is no accident but precisely an embodiment of this law. In this sense, the problem of some abstract "ripeness" for revolution is quite improperly posed--revolutions break out owing to the rise of appropriate configurations of forces in the international plane of the class struggle, and--if they are indeed effective--accomplish their fundamental goal, namely, seizure of a given part of the world from the dominion of capital, exploitation and various forms of oppression. In such a situation, the start from an extremely low level, which is additionally lowered by wartime devastation, is simply inevitable. If Marx or Engels had once thought that this could happen otherwise, one must have the courage to declare that they, too, could err by not conceptualizing completely the consequences of their own theory (they often lacked experience). For Marx's theory itself does not err here and does not require any revision.

It would be worth considering a certain historical factor which was decisive to the victory of precisely the Leninist method of the treatment of Marxism over the scholastic approach represented in those times by Plekhanov and Kautsky. Nowadays an excellent example of what is meant here is given by

Schaff. Following the bourgeois revolution in Russia, when such Marxists as Plekhanov or Kautsky, faithful like Schaff to the letter of certain Marxian texts, zealously counseled against continuing the--this time--socialist revolution, arguing in favor of first nurturing the capitalism liberated in Russia by the bourgeois revolution, so as to develop further the productive forces, so that, in a nutshell, Russia would become "more ripe" for socialism, Lenin alone grasped the entire complexity and historic significance of the situation. He could grasp it solely because he alone knew how to apply Marx's theory dialectically to reality. Lenin was perfectly aware that Russia as a bourgeois state, in face of the already existing penetration by West European capital, so much mightier than native Russian capital, and if all the patterns of operation of international capital were to be retained, would inevitably become in relation to West Europe that which South America has become in relation to North America. That is, Russia would become a source of raw materials and cheap manpower and an area of extreme poverty and hunger. This was the tacit and fundamental premise of the revolutionary activities of Lenin, who understood the need to exploit the exceptional concatenation of circumstances under which imperialism had so weakened itself and dissipated its energies owing to war that it would be incapable of effectively counter-acting Russia's escape from its grasp as well as the escape of many countries accomplishing the revolution concurrently with Russia. The validity of this reasoning was proved both by the joint intervention of previous enemies such as France, England and Germany against the young Soviet state and by its ineffectiveness under these particular conditions. Yet as soon as a year after Lenin's death there appeared the first part of a book that openly called for attacking the European borderlands of big capital instead of overseas colonies, a book which was unambiguously supported by the German big capital and international imperialism--namely, Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf," published during 1925-1927. "By the same token, National Socialists are deliberately nullifying the traditional foreign policy of the prewar times....We halt the eternal march of the Germanic tribes in southward and westward directions in Europe and direct our gaze toward the land in the east. We conclusively put an end to the colonial and trade policies of the prewar times and pass over to the policy of conquering new territories. If today in Europe we are speaking of new lands and territories, this can refer only to Russia and the borderland subject to it."

If we hold in mind the support given by big capital to Hitler when, a couple of years later, it enabled him to seize power, and if we also consider that the central part of Hitler's program was implemented by Nazi Germany absolutely unflinchingly, in combination with an attempt at the physical extermination of the Jewish peoples, we can understand all the more clearly the importance of the counterweight, created by Lenin, to the annihilatory ambitions of West European imperialism, thrusting precisely in the direction of the less industrialized and poorer East.

The Polish Affair

In Poland also, this time after World War II, socialism meant primarily the elimination of foreign capital and freeing the Polish worker of the necessity of working to multiply the wealth of not only the domestic but also the German, French, Belgian and English capitalists. But has the program of the Polish revolution been so negative, consisting in the elimination of an evil?

There is no way that its positive accomplishments can be overlooked. Did not the introduction of universal education, free health care, and cheap books next to cheap bread, represented the practical implementation of the slogan, "To each according to need"? It is a little embarrassing to recall such things in a discussion with Schaff, who used at the time to be close to these transformations, but this is precisely that great but overlooked foundation because of which we used to have that "consensus" in the immediate postwar period, if allowance is also made for parceling out big estates and shaking the stagnant class structure of the Poland of the "Pans." But there is the fact that most often this was not a redistribution of wealth but a redistribution of misery and poverty? Here too it is embarrassing to recall who it was to bequeath that poverty to the Polish people, both before and during the war. Could the fact that we did not start out with modern chemistry and computers, that instead we merely started out by eliminating thatched huts and illiteracy, be accepted as an argument in favor of "prematurity" of the revolution? Such an argument may be implying that if it had not been for that premature socialism then capitalism would have contributed more. But the expert on alienation is mistaken, precisely because he ignores the economic tenets of Marxism and especially their elaboration by Lenin. Capitalism is a system operating on the principle of positive feedback to the effect that "he who owns possessions will be given," reflecting the law of capitalist accumulation formulated by Marx in "Das Kapital." Poland used to belong to that part of the world which worked to enrich those few countries which had been the first to develop industry and succeeded in covering the rest of the world with spiderwebs of dependence which persist in somewhat changed form for centuries to this very day. That is why it was such a dramatic experience to Marxism and the worker movement when the strong parties of the rich West accepted as something obvious and natural the privileged place of those countries--highly developed and enriching themselves at the expense of the remaining world--and procrastination in accomplishing the revolution, or even abandonment of the revolution or even the disgraceful drafting of a "socialist colonial policy" as well. It is not difficult to imagine the enthusiasm with which the bourgeoisie had responded to it. The current so-called Eurocommunism is a repetition of that half-century old phenomenon. This was noticed even by the English Marxist Perry Anderson who, in his book "Arguments Within English Marxism," London, 1980, compares Berlinguer and Carrillo with Kautsky and Bauer. This is the second time that this Marxism of the well-fed and rich ones, aimed then against Lenin and now against the countries of real socialism, this Marxism which is determined not to ask questions that are too inconvenient or penetrating--questions of the sources and basis of that wealth of not only the domestic bourgeoisie but also partially of the domestic proletariat in our poor and hungry world--is beginning to make itself known. But this exactly is a betrayal of the spirit of Marxism, which has always been a theory that teaches precisely how to unmask and tear veils off lofty slogans, unmasking exploitation, force, veiled dependences and interests. The abandonment of the bloc of the exploited, the historically underprivileged represents, moreover a moral betrayal of Marxism. As for what there is in common between this Marxism imported from the West by Schaff and the Polish history and reality, let the reader judge for himself. But as for what is there in the traditional treatment of Marxism in Poland that favors the adoption of views of this kind, that will be the subject of separate reflections.

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 45, 6 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Tadeusz Mendelski: "Against a Marxism of Meaningless Schemas"]

[Text] Schaff arrived at his assessment of unripeness of Poland for socialism, as well as of the unripeness of all the other socialist countries, in the most elementary manner, by setting up a model ("a high level of economic development, so as to commence the redistribution of wealth immediately after the revolution," "the simultaneous victory of the revolution in the decisive countries," etc., etc.) for a particular situation of a given country at a given point in time and finding whether that model fits or not. This is thus a classic example of the operation of simplified schemas of thought and as such it reflects a phenomenon of Polish Marxism that is much deeper and more ramified than might seem at first glance.

One of the most characteristic and menacing manifestations of this phenomenon is a certain general approach to the presentation and treatment of historical materialism. The beginnings of this phenomenon in our country are to be traced to as far back as the 1950s, while its most characteristic and influential manifestation is contained in the treatment of historical materialism in Oskar Lange's "Wstep do Ekonomii Politycznej" [An Introduction to Political Economics], published in 1959. For many years that "Introduction" was the standard version of the social teachings of Marxism, and even now a majority of the textbooks published to this day still reproduces the essence of that treatment, altering only the details. And yet, that is a typical example of killing the spirit of Marxism in the name of the letter of Marxism. That letter represents--thus reinforcing the persuasive power of that interpretation--a passage from the works of Marx himself, one of the best-known passages and one that perhaps breaks all records as regards the frequency with which it is cited:

"In the social creation of their life, people enter into certain necessary relations, production relations that are independent of their volition and correspond to a particular level of development of their material productive forces. The whole of these production relations represents the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which the legal and political superstructure is erected, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The manner of the production of material life affects the social, political and intellectual process of life in general. Human consciousness is not determined by the existence of the individual but, on the contrary, by social existence. At a certain level of their development the material productive forces of society enter into a conflict with the existing production relations or--this being the juridical reflection of that conflict--with the property relations within whose framework they had previously been developing. These relations change from being forms of the development of the productive forces into chains fettering these forces. It is then that the era of the social revolution sets in. As the economic foundation changes, a turnabout takes place, sooner or later, in the entire huge superstructure."

It must be admitted that this passage is among the most crucial, extraordinary ones in Marxism as a whole. It is a treasure trove of the best-known and

most popular formulas of Marxism: "Existence determines consciousness," "The base determines the superstructure," production relations are viewed as chains fettering the productive forces, etc. Its heuristic value as a concise introduction to the study of Marxism is thus tremendous. But this passage also represents the origin of the most unfelicitous and simply tautological definition of production relations which has been for many years effectively rendering barren the discussion of the category: "Production relations are relations in which people engage in the process of production." This "definition" is a mechanical paraphrasing of the first sentence in the above-cited passage and all we learn from it is that "people enter," because the definiendum and the definiens essentially are the same.

It must be admitted that Lange himself does not employ this definition, but on the other hand he uses this brief passage as the basis for an entire historiographic schema elaborated pedantically in a nearly deductive manner. The linchpin of that schema is the formula (which, as it turns out, ideally fits Schaff's main thesis in his concept of "becoming ripe for socialism"), with which Marx ends his overall conclusion: "No social formation disappears before an apogee is reached by all the productive forces to which it offers a sufficient field for development, and new higher production relations never supplant it before the material conditions for their existence mature in the bosom of the old society."

Marxism or the Great Revolutionary Bell

This quotation from the 1959 "Contribution to a Critique of Political Economics" was expanded by Lange to a text running 60 pages in his "Introduction," providing a model for the substance and approaches to the exposition of historical materialism dominant throughout the 1960s and 1970s. To reinforce the verisimilitude of this scheme, Lange adds these comments:

"The law of the spontaneous development of productive forces' and, along with that law as the motive power of history, this schema operates as follows: the productive forces develop spontaneously under the influence of stimuli received from the environment in the form of needs. At first, they develop in harmony with the production relations corresponding to them, but they do so only for a time, because afterward the inherently conservative production relations begin to impede (fetter!) this development. But that is nothing, because the revolution comes and introduces new production relations which no longer impede development. At the same time, a new superstructure arises on the new base and after a certain period of time during which harmony reigns, production relations will again begin to impede the development of productive forces, and so on, and the revolutionary process will begin anew. The essence of this theory is expressed by the following passage from Marx's 'The Poverty of Philosophy': 'Handmills result in a society directed by the feudal boss, while the steam mill results in a society in which the industrial capitalist comes to the fore.'"

This striking sentence, enunciated by Marx in the fervor of his polemic with Proudhon (to which, nota bene, Proudhon assented in writing on the margin of the copy even though he was mercilessly scourged by Marx), which picturesquely points to the existence of close relations between the level of development of the productive forces and the system of production relations and the political system, becomes here turned into an absolutist schema which spotlights the

development of the productive forces and separates from it and impermissibly subordinates to it the other categories.

This "schema" of Lange has an evident influence on Schaff, since he defines with such assurance and so arbitrarily the conditions for "being ripe" for socialism, long before Schaff started his campaign by publishing the article "Why Has Not the Computer Resulted in a Socialist Society?" in WSPOL-CZESNOSC in 1971. It is this schema that I regard as a major factor in weakening the penetration of historical materialism into effective social practice and instead contributing to turning Marxism into a holiday decoration.

The principal accusation, from which others ensue, is the statement of the fact that this is a historiosophic, and hence more philosophical than scientific, schema of history, on a scale even broader than that of Hegel. In this schema the object of analysis is great historical events treated with a grand historiosophic sweep by means of broad cognitive categories. The collapsing social formations, the new formations arising, and the "transition" from the primal community to slavery, from slavery to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to socialism, come to the foreground in some theoretical perspective which is a perspective of extraordinary times that happen once in a century or even a millennium, and that at the same time points to an ambitious search for a single "key" to the entire history, a key to the secrets of all epochs and all "transitions."

Of course, such a perspective may be needed and theoretically interesting, and in this context it is not surprising that it had been formed shortly after a period of great revolutionary transformations in Poland, when these transformations had to be conceptualized and their validity and irreversibility had to be ascertained to one's satisfaction. Hence the automatism and that optimistic inevitability of revolutionary transformations, ensuing from a consideration of facts accomplished and disregard of trivial details. For this schema is par excellence of a retrospective significance, serving an ordering of historical reflection, so it is not a surprising thing that currently the historian J. Topolski is among the foremost proponents of this schema.

The pioneer of this schema was Kautsky, whose life's work, "The Materialist Understanding of History," also reveals the ambition to compress the entire history of mankind into a few formulas, in which connection he displays specific predilections for providing as illustrations general theses, hypothetical situations from prehistoric times and supposed behavior of savage peoples, for it is in these respects that certain of his theses become most explicit.

It is precisely this "global" perspective of a universal-history schema that made it possible to reconcile the former contradictions between that schema and reality.

After all, this schema had served to justify the socialist revolution as something released by the pressure of the productive forces which by then were being fettered by capitalist production relations in a country that was economically backward and that had to, moreover, sometimes begin from scratch owing to its wartime devastation, a country that was only getting ready to develop these productive forces owing to the onset of the domination of socialist production relations. At the time, Schaff had made no protests

against the building of "unripe" socialism, because everyone understood, on viewing from such a "global" perspective as well, that such details as the higher or lower level of economic development of a country at a given moment. in history are simply invisible and inessential.

But it should not appear strange either that historical materialism as a historiosophic schema was attacked by Popper in his "Poverty of Historicism" which attacks various forms of historicism as a source of historical prophecies rather than scientific expectations. It must be admitted that this schema is difficult to defend against accusations of this kind. For it is neither sufficiently plausible nor sufficiently predictive, not even in its proper perspective, that is, in the perspective of the world revolution.

The crucial statement of Marx that applies here, is turned into a supra-historical iron rule expressing some infallible mechanism of dependence, namely, the statement that "handmills gave us the society of the feudal bosses and the steam mill gave us the society of the industrial capitalists. A commentary that suggests itself in this connection is the real doubt contained in the question: "Then why has not the computer (or the microprocessor) given us the socialist society?" For it has not only failed to give such a society (even Schaff would not claim that the United States, which leads in this field, is at the threshold of a socialist revolution) but, what is more, as regards the production and applications of computers and microprocessors we are encountering great difficulties in overtaking the developed capitalist countries.

The dominance of this schema has not either contributed at all--although this at least could have been expected of it--to developing the habit of a theoretically and geographically broad and indeed "global" treatment of the problems of our socialist state in the greater historical perspective, in all of its relations with the socialist world, with the world of capital, or against the background of the processes occurring in the so-called Third World. For this schema lacks room even for, e.g. the couple of categories, "nations-bourgeoisies" and nations-proletariats," which help so much to understand the present-day world--categories that are considered only by Ladosz and Kozyr-Kowalski, that is, by precisely those who are the most distanced from Lange's schema in their presentation of historical materialism. The schema also completely disregards the classes and their struggle under particular historical conditions.

But what is disregarded together with the class struggle is something that is in general the heart of the matter of the Marxist analysis of social processes--economic analysis. Although this schema seems to be dominated by economics (the law of the progressive development of productive forces, the productive forces before and above production relations, the base before the superstructure), essentially it operates outside real and particular economic phenomena, independently of the lower-level economic processes, patterns and theses, even of those which had been analyzed by Marx himself, by Engels and, for the era of imperialism, by Lenin.

The very fact that Lange includes this schema as the INTRODUCTION to his handbook on political economics, and that it is not some final synthesis and the effect of arduous analysis, is more than eloquent. Most of the

theoreticians who take a position on this schema at present go even farther and already completely divorce the theory of historical materialism from the Marxist political economics.

Out of the grand synthesis of economic, sociological, political and philosophical knowledge, based on all the volumes of "Das Kapital" and all the major theoretical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the pleiad of creative Marxists (such as Rosa Luxemburg's "The Accumulation of Capital," that distinctive pendant to Lenin's "Imperialism"), which essentially is represented by Marx's theory of social development, there remains the mere empty shell of a schema operating with hypostatized categories standing outside specific and detailed analysis, outside serious and detailed analysis--a schema that is offered and operates simply in lieu of detailed analysis.

For this schema has long since been feeding on itself--it appears to be simply self-sufficient in this respect--it has no need of any social reality. In the world there is simply a striking wealth of transformations and processes urgently requiring a Marxist interpretation, yet experts in historical materialism have long since been standing above the prosaic and the ordinary and are calmly waging their scholastic disputes over whether, for example, can an abstractly construed "superstructure" influence the "base" even though it is primarily the base that influences the superstructure. Such experts are, despite the often intricate weapons of logic with which they operate, incapable of adding anything to what has been said by Engels in his famous letters to Joseph Bloch and Konrad Schmidt in 1890.

There is thus nothing surprising in that this Lange schema of historical materialism has become the favorite topic of analysis to Leszek Nowak, even when he still had wanted to appear a Marxist. Nowak has made a substantial contribution to the abstract definition of the relationship between two hypostatized concepts, "productive forces" and "production relations," as well as between the "base" and the "superstructure," by proposing the adaptation theory according to which "productive forces" are "seeking a partner for themselves out of a corpus of "given" (where, when, by whom, and what are these constructs?) "production relations," or that the base does so out of a corpus of "given" (see above) "superstructures" (sic!). Here hypostatization reaches its acme; we are beginning to play with concepts as with toys, and this entire game yields absolutely nothing to the concrete reality!

The barren abstruseness of this schema is unmasked by the overtone of interpretive nonchalance displayed by the theoreticians applying and elaborating this schema, as if they were tacitly admitting that that various details are anyway basically not much important or completely unimportant. One of the eminent theoreticians of historical materialism views its laws to be thus: the law of the development of productive forces (along with the law of historical progress and of the development of science, the law of the development of production relations, the law of the development of the superstructure) (J. Topolski, "Metodologia historii" [Methodology of History]), while another operates with the following laws: the law of the development of method of production, the law of the development of formations, etc. (J. Wiatr, "Marksistowska teoria rozwoju spolecznego" [The Marxist Theory of Social Development]).

It appears certain that the creative activity of the authors of the new interpretations is proceeding in a bad direction. For what kind of science is that--I am asking completely seriously--in which laws can be arbitrarily formulated and arbitrarily revised without even attempts at reconciling these revisions among specialists? What kind of science is that, moreover, in which for years no echo has been produced by the proofs, provided years ago by Kozyr-Kowalski, of the need to discard that strange "law of the spontaneous development of the productive forces," which is false in theory and erroneous in practice. And indeed, such Marxism appears distant from scientific principles and dialectical analysis of society.

Thus, although I term this Marxism "the Marxism of the Great Revolutionary Bell" in view of its grandiloquent historiosophic ambitions, the conclusion that begs itself is that this bell tolls in a vacuum, producing no real sound. On the other hand, it reveals how schemas operating for years, introduced to facilitate instruction and assist beginners in studying Marxism, can, when incompetently applied, often lead to a denial of the role of Marxism as a theory guiding the real social activity of the working class in its struggle for socialist transformations, for the revolution and--what has already been completely forgotten--for communism.

The Marxism of the Day-by-Day Class Struggle of the Proletariat

What then is the road to a Marxism that would break with schemas, assist in working out specific problems of the class struggle, and could be applied in day-by-day practice rather than once every few centuries? Such a road cannot run across that historiosophic schema of the primal community, etc., in view of a fundamental flaw in that schema that cannot be organically eliminated: since this schema is intended to comprise all stages in the development of mankind, it has to identify what is common to them all, and thereby also inevitably it disregards what is characteristic and distinctive to particular formations and what produces the unique imprint of a given formation that is decisive to the mode of operation proper to that formation alone.

To put it graphically, the "global" perspective employed in this schema proves to be completely unsuitable to the particular needs of the class campaign. The images of terrain provided by a globe are inadequate to the needs of every campaign of the struggle, inclusive of the class struggle; what is needed instead is detailed staff maps, and such staff maps cannot be derived "deductively" with allowance only for the global view--usually, completely different techniques of analysis are needed.

That global perspective results in irreversibly obliterating, above all, the uniqueness of capitalist production conditions, their particular, exceptional, "revolutionary" nature generating both the unprecedented dynamic growth of productive forces and the similarly unprecedented phenomenon of the socialization of labor. And it is only these conditions, rather than some suprahistorical laws, that provide realistic prospects for the transition to the socialist system.

As to how is this to come about, the inference can be drawn only from a detailed analysis of an intricate concatenation of the dependences of various elements and strata of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is significant that this most particularized perspective of the

class struggle has in general been only with difficulty accommodated within the schema, being overshadowed by the hypostatized categories. As to how that perspective can be gained, this is taught by Marx himself in "The Communist Manifesto," stressing primarily the uniqueness of the new era marked by the reign of the bourgeoisie and the appearance of modern proletariat.

"The bourgeoisie has demonstrated that that brutal application of force in the Middle Ages which the reaction finds so admirable has found its worthy complement in maximum slothfulness. It was only the bourgeoisie that revealed what can result from human activity. It has worked wonders that are completely different from Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals: its pilgrimages have been completely different from the wanderings of the peoples and the Crusades. The bourgeoisie cannot exist in the absence of a ceaseless revolutionizing of the tools of production and hence also of production relations and thus hence also of the whole of social relations. By contrast, the paramount prerequisite for the existence of all the former industrial classes had been the preservation of unchanged traditional methods of production. The endless turnabouts in production, the incessant shocks to the whole of the life of society, the eternal uncertainty and eternal movement distinguish the bourgeois era from all the previous eras."

This passage from "The Communist Manifesto," which is followed by several more pages describing these unique and exceptional features of this entire new "bourgeois era" against previous historical background, leaves no doubt that it is there that leads the proper road to the Marxism of revolutionary action. And indeed, an authentically particularized and scientifically developed gist of Marx's theory that proceeds from analyses of "The Communist Manifesto" leads through the analyses of precisely these production relations in their basic economic mechanisms, as presented in "Das Kapital," to Lenin's elaboration of a particularized strategy and tactics of the revolution wherever it is possible at a given moment and necessary.

For it is solely here that Marxism attains a degree of concreteness that is proper to a scientific theory, making possible a procedure that is characteristic of any science and inseparable from its operation--scientific prediction. The only kind of prediction possible under the historiosophic schema something like: "Some day revolution will occur owing to the accumulated contradictions of the system between the state of the productive forces and the production relations characterizing their development." Of course, such "prediction" is virtually useless and moreover it exposes Marxism to attacks by critics such as Popper whose task is facilitated by pointing to the "historicist" nature of Marxism and the "prophetic" strain in this kind of thinking about the future.

The schema has yet another fundamental flaw: it is completely helpless in face of the question of what can Marxist science contribute to understanding a situation in which capitalist and socialist countries exist concurrently and, for the time being, no further "transitions" are in prospect? The schema says nothing about such a situation and thus, for example, Schaff simply has pretensions to reality because such a situation has arisen in the reality and the revolution "did not break out universally all at once or at first in the most highly developed countries," feeling offended by the reality "in behalf of the purity of the theory."

His entire position on theory reduces to asserting that, inasmuch as, in his opinion, the situation that has arisen has nothing in common with his interpretation of the schema for the transition from capitalism to socialism, he feels released from the obligation of making Marxist analyses in categories of production relations, productive forces and the class struggle, and instead advocates a theory of alienation that obliterates the basic distinctions introduced by Marx, a theory that Marx himself had abandoned in his later scientific works owing precisely to its attendant inconsistencies, while retaining some of its aspects.

This historiosophic schema indeed yields nothing of value to developing the theory of the complex situation that is represented by that reality whose understanding, elucidation and prediction of development variants should be the principal task of Marxism. Hence, the Marxist in the thrall of schemas often attempts to conceal his drift and confusion under the guise of excessive aggressiveness....

Schaff Professes Eurocommunism

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 45, 11 Nov 83 p 12

[Article by Tadeusz Iwinski: "On 'The Communist Movement at a Crossroads'"; under the rubric "Polemics"; passages rendered in capital letters printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] ADAM SCHAFF'S BOOK, "RUCH KOMUNISTYCZNY NA ROZDROZU" [THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AT A CROSSROADS], PUBLISHED LATE LAST YEAR IN SEVERAL WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, HAS ALREADY GAINED THERE A CERTAIN FAME. IN POLAND THIS BOOK IS NOT WIDELY KNOWN IN ITS ENTIRETY, ALTHOUGH A NUMBER OF THE THESES IT CONTAINS HAS BEEN PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR IN CONCISE AND MORE MODERATE FORMULATION DURING RECENT MONTHS IN NUMEROUS PRESS ARTICLES AND INTERVIEWS. I READ ATTENTIVELY THE ENTIRE BOOK IN FRENCH AND COMPARED IT WITH ITS GERMAN-LANGUAGE VERSION TO ASCERTAIN THE SAMENESS OF FORMULATIONS.

1

Adam Schaff's work is intended as a work of political science, contains many motifs, and in many places is more like a publicistic sketch than a scientific work, but this fact will make it accessible to a broader readership. In one respect this book is a kind of novelty in the entire sea of the literature being published in recent years in the West that deals with the world communist movement and assesses it from an unfavorable standpoint. If we disregard the epilogue dealing with Polish affairs, which, in relation to the book as a whole, is of secondary importance and, properly speaking, provides an illustration of previous reflections, what is significant is the general tendency to avoid referring to details and specifics, to avoid referring to the experience of individual countries, especially the socialist ones. The author offers the proviso that he does not want his work to become yet another "Solzhenikiad," and indeed he refers to classic anti-communist argumentation only once when (on page 127 of the French-language edition) he mentions the alleged existence in the USSR of concentration camps and psychiatric clinics for "persons with unorthodox thoughts." The entire remaining exposition is

conducted at a fairly high level of generalization, which is to be the premise for treating this work in closely theoretical categories.

I would put forward the hypothesis that the book was written from positions close to those of "Eurocommunist" ones. That it is close to "Eurocommunism" ensues even not so much from the foreword penned by Manuel Azcarate--a leading theoretician of "Eurocommunism"--as from the exposition itself. I would define these positions as the penultimate degree of extreme "Eurocommunism," that is, as being at the level of acuteness of appraisals encountered among the Italian comrades, which do not go as far as do appraisals by certain Spanish comrades.

The book is not amenable to an unambiguous assessment from A to Z insofar as it concerns authentically important problems. These should include, e.g. the question of the role of the bureaucracy in the life of the socialist societies; the problem of the formula and functioning of democratic socialism, inclusive of the relations between centralism and democracy (the author's position is that it was Stalin who had absolutized various theses of Lenin, divorcing them from their historical context, and made them mandatory to the entire international communist movement); the issue of how should self-government by society be construed, to which much space is devoted; or the possibilities for the existence of a minority within communist parties (here Schaff refers to Rosa Luxembourg, page 94). The author's observations on several specific questions deserve consideration. For example, regarding the attitude toward religion and believers, Schaff states that Marxism is a coherent theory and cannot be separated from materialist philosophy, and hence also it is not enough for the communist party to proclaim that it is a secular party: instead, it should unequivocally declare itself to be atheist (page 147). One has also to agree with the author's statement that the central problem in Poland is not the problem of the party, as well as with his statement that the role of social psychology has been underestimated in our country.

2

Yet the principal theses advanced in the book are such that one must engage in polemics with them. This concerns chiefly the author's starting thesis, which is as follows: "WE FIND OURSELVES IN A SITUATION IN WHICH THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM WILL INEVITABLY DEEPEN BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE SOCIAL FORCE PREDESTINED TO INITIATE THE STRUGGLE TO BREAK THE IMPASSE (the communist movement--T.I) ALSO IS UNDERGOING A CRISIS" (page 14). The source of that crisis is supposedly the fact that socialism was built in societies that do not meet the conditions that have been explicitly specified by the theory of Marxism, and hence the only solution has proved to be the dominance of a single party along with the use of force. Thus, Schaff implicitly claims that socialist societies have arisen contrary to Marxist directives. The author undermines Lenin's paramount thesis of the possibility and at the same time necessity of the victory of the revolution in the country in which the contradictions of capitalism becomes the most stratified. Also to be opposed is the author's claim that supposedly "export of the revolution" to the countries of East and Central Europe has taken place: this nullifies, for example, the century-long traditions of the Polish worker movement. It is paradoxical in this connection that Schaff himself does not treat Marx's contribution in a completely Marxist manner, i.e. he does not regard them as guidelines for action and as a science and methodology, and

instead he approaches them as a corpus of infallible dicta taken chiefly from the work of Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology."

In the book reviewed we are dealing with a generalized, to be sure, but far-reaching critique of real socialism. Suffice it to quote just one sentence: "THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS ANTISOCIALIST AND DICTATORIAL" (page 122). Incidentally, the author always encloses in inveted commas the term itself "real socialism." It could also be said that Schaff essentially synthesizes as it were the theses of Milovan Djilas concerning the supposed existence of a new class of exploiters under socialism as well as of George Orwell regarding the operation of the socialist state, and especially the role played in that state by the apparatus of duress. He states that both the society and the communist parties of the socialist states "ARE CONDEMNED" to the dictatorship of the apparatus of force and to its alienation. The author's thesis is that the totalitarian system directed by the security apparatus is an immanent part of socialism: such a thesis must be regarded as neo-Orwellism.

From it ensue the strange assertions that, both in the USSR and in Poland, the security forces have deliberately eliminated the old, i.e. genuine and authentically committed Marxists. Diverse improper manifestations of the functioning of life in the socialist countries may and should be criticized, but the claim that the very manner in which these countries are organized is diametrically opposed to the requirements of self-governing societies and is bound to result in the reign of bureaucracy over society (page 80) has to be regarded as a pamphlet [as published] and can only be considered non-objective and unwarranted.

3

What is striking is that A. Schaff's book belittles Lenin and attempts to oppose him to Marxism. The author essentially supports a thesis once drafted in the centers of anti-communism and subsequently adopted by a majority of the adherents of "Eurocommunism," namely, the thesis that Leninism was merely a result of the experience of the Russian worker movement, consonant only with the particular conditions of tsarist Russia (and during a certain period at that), and hence it cannot be regarded as the experience of the entire international worker movement and is simply unsuitable nowadays for an analysis of the reality. This is accompanied by a different interpretation of the question of the vanguard role of the communist party--with the supposition that the Leninist party was allegedly a party good only "in the wartime," and that its concept does not apply to the present situation.

In this connection, the book presents an alignment of forces in the international communist movement that does not correspond to the truth, and it overlooks the accomplishments of the socialist countries which are, after all, governed by the most experienced communist parties, and further it highlights the fact of the existence of the "Eurocommunist" parties as allegedly the only parties that develop Marxism fittingly. The question of what is to be done is answered by the author in an extremely simplistic manner: "THE PROGRAM OF EUROCOMMUNISM SHOULD BE APPLIED CONSISTENTLY, ITS CONTENT SHOULD BE DEEPENED AND, BY DRAWING INFERENCES THEREFROM, EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF A GRADUAL LIBERALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE MODEL OF 'REAL SOCIALISM' SHOULD BE CONTINUED" (page 142). A. Schaff further states: "EUROCOMMUNISM EXISTS AND THIS IS FORTUNATE TO THE FUTURE, SINCE IT REFLECTS A SERIOUS HOPE FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT....IT IS ALSO

CERTAIN THAT ITS DEFEAT WOULD BE DRAMATIC TO THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (page 143). These conclusions ignore, among other things, the "petty" fact that so far Eurocommunism has--despite its revelation of the need to deepen the theory of many fundamental principles of scientific socialism--in an overwhelming majority of cases, been playing a negative role in the process of the functioning of the world communist movement, and that the political position of the parties adhering to it has in recent years been weakened.

Concerning more specific issues, I wish to state briefly my position on the Polish context. I will ignore here thesis, which is to be most contested, of the mistake or "original sin," consisting in the alleged "unripeness" of Poland for socialism. I am rather concerned with, first, the author's anti-Marxist interpretation of the term "the revolution" and relating it to our post-August situation, which essentially is in accord with the related concepts proclaimed by the leadership of Solidarity. By contrast, A. Schaff perceived no counter-revolutionary threat in the Polish realities prior to December 1981. Secondly, no commentary is any longer needed on the thesis that considerable credit belongs to the Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR) for its accomplishments in developing the consciousness of the working class (page 213). This thesis is accompanied by another strange assertion--that supposedly the working class in Poland has only now become a class in itself. Thus, if we consider the history of the Polish worker movement, this observation by the author comes several score years too late.

4

I prophesy success in the West for this book, as it is nearly one of a kind in view of its high degree of generalization and the personality and past of its author. It is not in the least an openly anti-communist work--such works appear to have already played out their historical role from the standpoint of the interests of the bourgeoisie. Given its--altogether quite unequivocal--ideological-political resonance, and considering the technique of reflection it employs and the numerous arguments of a theoretical nature that it presents, it can pass for an innovative publication. In my opinion, the author, while raising authentically important questions and dealing with genuinely vital issues, infers fallacious deductions and conclusions.

It is to be considered that this work and its individual theses will be widely propagated not only in the West but also in Poland, especially among the milieux of the intelligentsia and youth. The exacerbated international situation will of a certainty also favor it. This demands of us astute and profound criticism of A. Schaff's book, which must at the same time be accompanied by energizing theoretical activities in the ideological-political sphere and promoting the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Social sciences in our country unfortunately lag behind the other sciences. And yet, as never before, we face the need to analyze the processes of building socialism in greater depth and more comprehensively than ever and to infer from such analyses conclusions for the practice of political life.

1386

CSO: 2600/314

ANNIVERSARY OF CREATION OF UNIFIED NATIONAL STATE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian, No 20, 25 Oct 83 pp 15-17

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu, director of the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History: "Formation of the Romanian State: A Process with Deep Roots in History"]

[Text] The formation of the unified Romanian national state, completed by the unification of Transylvania with Romania on 1 December 1918, was a reflection of an inevitable necessity and the result of ceaseless accumulations of facts that characterized, over the centuries, the Romanian people's constant evolution toward a free and independent existence.

It is sufficiently well known today that after the withdrawal of the Roman legions and administration from Dacia in 270-275 the Daco-Roman population remaining north of the Danube had to adjust their way of life to the new historical conditions created by contact with the repeated waves of migratory populations.

As in other regions detached from the empire and exposed to the pressure of "barbarian" populations, ruralization set in, and a shift of economic activity from city to village. The cities that had flourished under Roman rule declined, having attracted the destructive force of the "barbarians" like magnets, as symbols of the population's prosperity, and their inhabitants who could save themselves swelled the numbers of the peasantry. The latter were to play the role of preserving and enriching the Daco-Roman cultural heritage under difficult or very difficult circumstances. Some continuity of the urban centers was maintained in the area between the Danube and the sea, which still remained for a considerable period of time under the rule or direct control of the Roman Empire and later of the Roman-Byzantine Empire. This had a favorable effect upon the whole area of former Dacia, which the empire continued to serve as a model of civilization.

The Dacian population left outside the Roman "order" was organized to enable it to cope with necessities of the new barbarian "order." The village community emerged as a characteristic form of native organization. The communities were headed by juzii or judecii (from Latin judex), who would also be called cnezi due to Slavic influence after the Ninth century. The beginnings of public law,

which indicated the predominance of the juzi over the rank-and-file population, were gradually established between the former and the latter.

The population, organized on the basis of what was to be called the *jus valahicum*, deeply devoted to the land, and preserving the political-governmental tradition of Roman origin, was concentrated in naturally defended geographic units called *tari* (from Latin *terra*).

In N. Iorga's view, the unions (confederations) of village communities grouped in *tari* were veritable "people's Romes." Their inhabitants knew, as did those of other areas where the Roman tradition had left its lasting mark, that they belonged to the empire's civilization structurally, linguistically and geographically. To foreigners, these "people's Romes" detached from the empire were territories inhabited by speakers of Latin, Romanics subject to the "barbarians" who came from the eastern steppe and obliged to pay the latter tribute in products. (1)

The population in the "Romes" continued their ancient occupations, primarily agriculture and cattle breeding, under the historical circumstances created by their subjugation at the hands of the nomadic conquerors and their obligations to them. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Romanian words for the main agricultural and pastoral occupations and products are of Latin origin, such as *lucru* (labor), *a lucra* (laborare), *pamint* (pavimentum), *cimp* (campus), *ogor* (ager), *cultivare pamintului* (cultura), *animale* (animalia), *minerale* (mineralia), *olari* (ollarii), *lucrarea in fier* (ferroneria), *lenvarie* (lignaria), *tesatorie* (textoria), *a ara* (arare), *a semana* (seminare), *a culege* (colligere), *a secera* (sicilire), *a macina* (machinare), *a cerne* (cernere), *griu* (granum), *mei* (millium), *orz* (hordeum), *secara* (secale), *piine* (panis), *boi* (boves), *vaca* (vaca [*sic*]), *juninca* (juvenca), *vitei* (vitellus), *cal* (caballus), *porc* (porcus), *oale* (ovis), *cas* (caseum), *lina* (lana) etc.

Connections between the "people's Romes" north of the Danube and the Romans south of it continued after 275, taking the form of crossings of the population from one side of the river to the other as well as the Roman Empire's political-military actions north of the Danube, which culminated in partial restoration of Roman rule north of the river during the reigns of Constantine the Great, Valens and Justinian. Some historical sources even speak of a "complete reconquest of Dacia." (2)

The continued connections north and south of the Danube maintained the Romanizing process in Dacia after 275, as proved by the wealth of archeological material discovered not only in Transylvania but also in Oltenia, Wallachia and Moldavia. (3)

An important part in continuing the Romanizing process north of the Danube was also played by Christianity, which was propagated from many dioceses in the cities on the right bank of the middle and lower Danube. (4)

During the fifth to eighth centuries the Latin spoken in the Carpatho-Danubian region became a neo-Latin (Romanic) language. In the ninth century various non-Latin influences began to come in, the most intensive and important of which was Slavic, reflected chiefly in the vocabulary without changing the entirely Latin

system (grammar) of the Romanian language. And so it was to evolve henceforth as a neo-Latin (Romance) language into its modern and contemporary forms. (5)

The toponymy also provides data bearing out Daco-Roman continuity north of the Danube, namely the terminology of Latin origin in the mountain areas that was used in the inter-Carpathian and sub-Carpathian depressions, in the ring of *tari* (terrae) where the first Romanian political units were formed. The plain also preserved names that designated concentrations of Romanic or old Romanian population at certain points, such as *Vlasca*, the Slavic name for Romanics, or *Romanati*, the Kuman name for them.

The tradition of Daco-Roman descent, kept alive by the native population north of the Danube, played an important part in forming its ethnic individuality, maintained and strengthened its cohesion, and enabled it to resist the annihilating power of the migrant "barbarians."

The term Romanian /*Roman*/ and derivatives (*romani*, *romanesc*, *romaneste* etc.), from which a great many of place names were taken, indicated the distinction between the Latin-speaking local population and the nomadic elements who dominated it for some time.

The 10th-11th centuries were a period of progress in the history of Romania as well as Europe as a whole in agricultural technology and material culture in general and a period of demographic growth and economic development. The archaeological excavations, especially those made in the settlements at Garvan (*Dinogetia*), *Pacuiul lui Soare*, *Capad va*, *Bucov*, *Suceava* and *Dabica*, as well as the written sources, provide illuminating materials and data in this regard. Radical changes in the social structure occurred in the 10th-11th centuries. Feudal land ownership developed and the classes of feudal society were formed. Some of the feudal lords rose from the local village communities, invading the communities' lands and enslaving the peasants, while others came from outside the communities, from the nomad conquerors, who exacted taxes and services from the peasant communities to maintain themselves and their troops.

The earliest detailed information about the organization of a large feudal estate on Romanian territory dates from 1075, concerning the estate of the St Benedict Monastery in *Bihor* (6). But analysis of the peasants' state of servile dependence upon this estate compels us to conclude that the feudal relationships had developed there a relatively long time before, and it is in the light of these data that the information of Anonymus in "*Gesta Hungarorum*" about Duke *Memnorut* becomes significant. The latter appeared by the beginning of the 10th century as a powerful political leader with fortresses, troops and authority over the territory around *Biharie*, that is over the land and the peasants who worked it.

By the end of the 10th century the voievodate on the Transylvanian plateau governed by *Gelu* (*ubi Gelou quidam Blacus dominium tenebat*) had become, according to Anonymus' information, "very rich and extensive" (*latissimum et opulentissimum*).

In the middle of the 10th century overlords appeared on Dobrogean territory like "Lord *Dimdtrie*," mentioned in an inscription of 943, who were probably just as

powerful as the ones in Transylvania. Meanwhile the beginnings of political organization appeared both south and east of the Carpathians in the 10th century that are characteristic of the process of formation of feudal relations.

"The Legend of Saint Gerhard" is an important source of knowledge of the social structure in the Banat at the close of the 10th century. It says that along with nobles (*nobiles*) holding extensive lands (*allodia*) and herds there were commoners (*servi* and *pastores*) upon whose labor the former's prosperity was based. (7)

In order to defend and consolidate their privileged position and to secure their sources of income from the taxes imposed upon the "commoners," the feudal lords needed the instrument of power and authority that the state constituted. External factors in the 10th century prevented conversion of the political units on Romanian territory to strong state organizations and forced some regional characteristics upon the feudalization process, which had been uniform throughout Romanian territory until that time.

The Hungarian kings and their military or political associates conquered Transylvania by prolonged warfare, and by "right of conquest," that is by direct usurpation, they appropriated the lands of many village communities that had still been free and were pressed into servitude in that way.

The peasants' struggle to preserve their old freedoms and strong tradition of native political organizations lent the evolution of feudal relations in Transylvania a distinctive character that manifested itself in the 13th century in the attempt to form one political organization of all Transylvania (*regnum Transilvaniae*), separate from the Hungarian kingdom. The tendency to generalize the class struggle and the spread of privilege among the great nobles are indications that lead us to regard the 13th century as an important point in the consolidation of feudal relations in Transylvania.

South and east of the Carpathians the development of Romanian society was hampered for a long time by the invasions and domination of the Pechenegs, Udi and Kumans and later of the Tatars. Those nomadic populations established relations with the natives that distinctively characterized the evolution of feudalism in the said regions. The nomads' rule made itself felt by the most varied forms of fiscal exploitation of the native population, the main one being a tribute. (8) Collaboration was arranged between the nomad aristocracy and the local one, between the nomad chiefs and the Romanian leaders, through whom the tribute was collected. After the decline and subsequent departure of the nomads the local heads continued the system of exploiting the population by tribute in their own interest. The 13th century was also a period of expansion and intensification of feudal relations in the regions south and east of the Carpathians.

In the first third of the 13th century the Romanian nobles (*maiores terrae*) south of the Carpathians had vast estates and a "military machine" (*apparatus bellicus*) of their own, according to the "Document of the Ioanites" (1247), and they benefited by quitrents and corvees imposed upon the peasants. The church, as an institution, gained in organization. The political units established here, principalities and voievodates, enjoyed considerable autonomy although they were dependents of the Hungarian kingdom. A first attempt to throw off Hungarian suzerainty, made in 1279 by the voievod Litovoi ended in the death of the Romanian

voievod, who became a symbol of the idea of political emancipation, an idea that would be converted into forceful actions soon after his sacrifice.

The consolidation of feudal relations in Transylvania and the tendency of the Hungarian kings to overthrow the local autonomies, as well as the decline of the Tatars' domination south and east of the Carpathians toward the end of the 13th century intensified the shift of the population from Transylvania and especially from its border areas, to the south and east of the Carpathians.

It cannot be said that the emigrations from Transylvania brought about the "founding" of Wallachia and Moldavia as tradition has it, but they enhanced the vitality of the political units south and east of the Carpathians and expedited their unification.

The victories won by the Romanian chiefs with their own forces or by participating in coalitions of states against the Tatars as well as the political crisis in the big neighboring states led to the unification of the political units south of the Carpathians and the election of the voievod from Arges, Basarab, as grand voievod and prince.

The independent state, which went down in history thanks to Basarab and which was the first independent Romanian state formed on the territory of ancient Dacia, was named Tara Romaneasca or Valahia, a Slavic term of Germanic origin taken from the ethnic designation of the population (vlachus, generatim homo Romanae originis).

Skilled in warfare and the mysteries of diplomacy, which he knew how to use cleverly on behalf of his country, Basarab secured permanent borders for Romania and determined the model of Romanian thought, which his capable successors imitated and developed in providing for the state stability so essential to the progress of Romanian society.

Heralding future achievements, Basarab built the princely chapel at Curtea de Arges that makes his name and deeds immortal, a monument of great artistic value, an important landmark in the evolution of medieval Romanian art, and a reflection of the high developmental level reached by the Romanian society of the time, which could receive and completely integrate elements of civilizations less tried by the duress of the times.

As N. Iorga put it, Basarab's works created the model for Moldavia, the second Romanian freedom." Like Wallachia, it was created with the help of the Romanian element from Transylvania. Tara Maramuresului was to play a role in creating Moldavia as an independent state similar to that played by Tara Fagarasului for Wallachia. The unification of the "countries" east of the Carpathians into the new Romanian country began with Dragos, voievod of Maramures, and was to continue with another voievod of Maramures, Bogdan and his successors. The new country was to be named Moldavia after the place where its formation began, the Moldova valley. Since it was also a Tara Romaneasca or a Valahia (as in fact it was still called in the papal and Polish chancelleries in the second half of the 14th century) the sources often call the Romanian state east of the Carpathians Moldovlahia, Valahia minor or Valahia major etc., which terms indicated either the geographic position of Valahia east of the Carpathians or its power relationship to other Valahias, in order to avoid confusion with "the other Valahia."

It is significant that the Moldavians did not call Wallachia Tara Romaneasca or its inhabitants Romanians. They knew they were Romanians too and they also considered their country a Tara Romaneasca. In order to distinguish "the other Valahia," as Stefan the Great was to call the Romanian state south of the Carpathians, from the "Valahia" east of the Carpathians, the Moldavians called the former Muntenia, probably from the beginning. In the "Anonymous Chronicle of Moldavia," the oldest surviving chronicle of Moldavia, the term muntean is used in the Slavic text.

The formation of the Romanian states south and east of the Carpathians indicated the emergence in the political geography of the time, in a favorable international situation, of popular energies which carried on an old political-governmental tradition and which had been long suppressed by the incursions and domination of the nomads. This emergence of the Romanian element coincided with the demonstration of the latter's capacity to expel or absorb the transient barbarian element.

The ethnic stock of the two independent Romanian states, in their expansion to the sea in the 14th century, was the same and it was also identical with that of Transylvania, which was prevented by the Hungarian kingdom's oppressive rule from forming a state polarizing all Romanian affairs of state, as its geographic position and historical tradition indicated, and transmitted its vital energies to the south and east of the Carpathians, hastening the formation of two Romanian states there and keeping alive the idea of Romanian ethnic unity.

The inevitable conclusion is that the former Dacia, which had become a trans-Danubian Rome after its conquest by the Roman Empire, fragmented by the "barbarians'" attacks and taking the form of the "people's Romes" in the millennium of the nomadic populations' invasions, could not restore its Romanian form completely in the 14th century, but only in some areas. The historical circumstances were against success of the attempt to restore the former political whole. The idea of the ancient political unity of pre-Roman Dacia was still preserved by the Romanian people, and attempts to achieve it in Romanian form sprang up in the course of time sometimes in one province and sometimes in another.

The temporary unification of the three Romanian lands, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, achieved by Prince Michael the Brave in 1600 is a high point in the Romanians' long series of efforts to be organized in one independent state, leaving to the following generations a political program of vital importance the final fulfillment of which after more than three centuries was to crown their aspirations and sacrifices brilliantly. Horea's uprising, the illuminist movement in Transylvania, Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, the Romanian revolution of 1848, the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859 and the acquisition of independence in 1877 successively laid granite foundations for the modern national edifice, creating the inevitable conditions for construction of the unified Romanian national state.

Marking the end of a long historical process, the memorable act of 1 December 1918 was also the beginning of a new period of the Romanian nation's development. It has been socialism's noble mission to enhance this nation's power and prestige and to give it the attributes of full sovereignty and freedom and the position it rightfully deserves among the nations of the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Iorga, "History of Romanians for Romanian People," 6th ed, Valenii de Munte, 1926, p 3 ff.
2. Gh. Stefan, "Le probleme de la continuite sur le territoire de la Dacie," DACIA, Vol XII, 1968, pp 347-354. Dan Gh. Teodor, "Carpatho-Danubian Rome and Byzantium in 5th-8th Centuries A.D.," Iasi, Junimea Publishing House, 1981, p 16.
3. D. Protase, "Problem of Continuity in Dacia in Light of Archeology and Numismatics," Bucharest, 1966.
4. C. C. Giurescu and D. C. Giurescu, "History of Romanians," Vol I, Bucharest 1974, pp 140-146.
5. G. Ivanescu, "History of Romanian Language," Iasi, Junimea Publishing House, 1980, p 177 ff.
6. "Documents on History of Romania, 11th, 12th and 13th Centuries. C. Transylvania," Vol I (1075-1250), Bucharest 1951, pp 1-2.
7. St. Olteanu, "Romanian Society on a Millenary Scale (8th-11th Centuries)," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest 1933, p 167.
8. H. H. Stahl, "Theories and Hypotheses on Sociology of Tribute System," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest 1980, pp 35-36.

5186

CSO: 2700/41

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 25 Oct 83 pp 1-4

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Petru Panzaru, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "Continuity of the Revolutionary Process and the Reforming Function of Socialist Awareness"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The revolutionary process and the socialist revolution are continuous, and they must be developed continuously in keeping with each historical stage, both in the field of productive forces and in those of social structural reforms, social and production relations, social management, and people's way of life. The revolutionary process will continue and will be very pronounced in the whole task of building socialism, the fully developed socialist society, and communist society."

Construction of socialist society, a society radically new in comparison with all systems that preceded it, presents theoretical thought and practical reforming action with some of the most serious problems. One of these key problems, as challenging and interesting as it is complicated, is that of the continuity of the revolutionary process after the working class has overthrown the exploiting classes and gained political power, a historical stage objectively necessary to start the work of reorganizing all society on a socialist basis. The problem of dialectical interpretation of the characteristics and successive stages of socialist construction, viewed as components of a continuous revolutionary process, calls for innovating thought, scientific clarity and a militant, revolutionary spirit. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech in October 1976 at the Conference of Personnel in the Social Sciences and Political Education, "We must not make the mistake of thinking that the revolutionary process is over once the oppressor classes have been overthrown and the workers' and peasants' power has been established. To be sure acquisition of political power by the masses is a historic achievement, but it is not the end of the tasks of the revolution. On the contrary, it may be said that the process of revolutionary reform has hardly begun." In giving expression to a constant of his theoretical and political thinking at the Mangalia Conference in August 1983, the party secretary general reaffirmed the principle of continuity of the revolutionary process, pointing out that "The stages that followed were no easier. On the contrary, some of them were even more difficult than the struggle to gain the power because they required a high qualification and accomplishment of great revolutionary reforms throughout society."

Socialist Revolution: an Original, Complex and Lengthy Process

Actually it was just after the complete acquisition of political power that the great revolutionary reforms in the productive forces took place in Romania, under party leadership and through the efforts and sacrifices of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia allied with the people, as well as liquidation of the exploiting classes, socialist industrialization, agricultural cooperativization and development on a new basis, renovation of the political system and state organization, development of socialist democracy, accomplishment of the cultural revolution, the prosperity of the socialist nation, and the rise of the people's material and cultural living standard.

On the 60th anniversary of the formation of the CPR Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed the whole revolutionary process that followed the acquisition of power, pointing out that we traveled a long road to bring about socialist relations in the critical sectors of the national economy, making an intensive effort to develop the productive forces and new, socialist relations. He estimated that in general we had successfully concluded the stage of forming uniform socialist relations by 1963-1965, and socialist ownership of the production means, the new social and production relations, and distribution of the social and national product on socialist principles became the foundations of Romania's socioeconomic development. This was followed by the stage of consolidating those relations and principles, developing the productive forces, and creating a strong material, scientific and cultural base. Major progress was made in all sectors of the national economy in this stage, and also in raising the people's material and cultural living standard.

In pursuance of the CPR Program drafted by the 11th Party Congress the stage of building the fully developed socialist society was begun, inaugurating a pronounced advance of socioeconomic development as a whole and a higher level of civilization and general prosperity for the people.

Of course the road we traveled and the stages we traversed did not and could not constitute a triumphal procession. There were difficulties to be overcome and some errors to be corrected. The party and the working class had to go through an advanced and difficult school of social management for which they had had no historical period of preliminary preparation. But the party, closely linked with the people, knew how to overcome the difficulties, to correct the errors, to restore socialist legality, to tie the thread of the progressive national traditions, raising them to a higher level, and to develop its independent policy in full accord with Romania's social and national realities and with the vital interests of the Romanian people and of socialism. We know what a great and decisive part was played by the historic Ninth Party Congress and Nicolae Ceausescu's innovating political thought and action in this process of social, economic, political, ideological and cultural renewal and of spurring and uniting the entire nation's forces.

Guided by the principle of continuity of the revolutionary process in Romania, formulated by the party secretary general, the 12th Party Congress set the main goal (itself of a revolutionary character as well) of Romania's transition to a new stage of development and achievement of a new quality of life and work in all activities, a goal particularized in the operational programs approved by

the National Party Conference in 1982, in the ideological and political-educational program included in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, and in the speech at Mangalia in August 1983. Theoretical analysis, in close correlation with the facts provided by the dialectics of the social realities, is expected to bring out the objective determination of the continuity of the revolutionary process in Romania, the content and far-reaching purpose of that process, the particular practical and specific ways and means of implementing it, and the growing role of the subjective, political-organizational and awareness factors in attaining the goals of the higher stage of socialist construction we are in and "in which we have problems to solve that are critical to the fate of socialist Romania" and the CPR has "the great responsibility of mobilizing the entire people's militant revolutionary spirit, leading Romania under new historical conditions, and securing the victory of communism in Romania ... and the harmonious operation of all activities," as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out.

The objective grounds for the principle of continuity of the revolutionary process lie primarily in the fact that the inauguration of the political power of the working class and the start of socialist construction do not automatically solve the problems of reorienting all society and human existence upon principles and bases entirely unknown in history, namely the principles of socialism, or the principles of ethics, equity, equality and social justice. The principle of the necessary continuity of the revolutionary process and accordingly of a sustained revolutionary attitude and activity can both eliminate the idyllic, unrealistic idea that socialism can know no difficulties or contradictions, and combat or prevent self-satisfaction, tendencies to minimize or even ignore the errors and defects, and weakening of the lucid self-critical spirit. Those, as Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out, are foreign to the communist revolutionary spirit and "very grave threats to any revolutionary party, any party organization, and any member of the Communist Party."

As for the nature, purpose and current content of the revolutionary process and its continuity, some qualifications should be made and some outmoded representations and images should be abandoned concerning the very reason for revolution and the revolutionary process and concerning the relations between what has been called the socialist revolution and socialist construction, which have long been regarded as distinct stages of the task of building the new society. It is clear today that there are no grounds in either history or logic for this "succession," "staging" or distinction, which has the disadvantage of depriving the concept of socialist construction of its very essence, namely the revolutionary nature of the construction process, which is actually a task of radical reconstruction of all the constituent elements of the social system, its base and superstructure, and its social institutions and attitudes. Traditionally, the idea of social revolution has been and still is associated or even identified with the historically brief periods of combat at barricades, with insurrections, civil wars, social demolition and destruction, and with replacement of the force of law with the law of force. All these actions, inevitable and justified as they are for relatively short historical periods, sometimes convey the impression of a marked contrast between revolution and constructive work and lead to a tendency to reserve the term revolution solely for the the initial stage of more or less violent and rapid social upheavals. But if we give the concept of revolution the meaning of radical and total social changes and reforms and remember

that in the history of socioeconomic units socialism and communism make the most radical change in man's social existence and awareness, in methods of production, exchange and distribution, in political power, class structure and social institutions, and in all components of social awareness, way of life and human relations, and that the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism comprises a whole historical period and not one segment of it, then we understand the constructive content and orientation of the socialist revolution and the objective necessity and inevitability of its continuity over a long period in order to completely and consistently implement the socialist and communist ideals and principles and the system of revolutionary-humanist values that justify its historical superiority.

The idea and process of revolutionary continuity in socialist society include a new relationship between initiative and innovation and revolutionary responsibility, order and discipline and between competence, clarity, scientific rationality and professionalism and enthusiasm, feeling, romanticism and revolutionary spirit. The eminently constructive, humanistic and democratic character of the socialist revolution in its advanced stages is incompatible with a volley of changes for love of change with no objective justification, sound substantiation, or objective conditions for their implementation to obtain socially desirable effects, just as it is incompatible with conservation of obsolete and anachronistic structures and institutions that have become brakes on social progress.

Social Improvement and Conflict Between New and Old

The eminently constructive and creative content and character of the socialist revolution as a continuous process are summed up in the concept of social and human improvement and the practical daily effort to implement it and to actually obtain a new quality of life and work in all areas of social organization, management and planning, operation of all institutions of workers socialist democracy, and better party leadership in all social activities. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In performing the role of a leading political force and the vital center of the entire nation, it is the party's great responsibility to secure the efficient operation of the whole system of the Romanian workers revolutionary democracy."

The content and purpose of the whole extensive and lengthy process of improving Romania's social system involve qualitative changes in the organizational and institutional structures, in the relations among them, and in social and individual awareness in order to obtain maximum social productivity in all social activities through maximum rationalization of the activities and relations. But we consider it essential to note that it is not the nature of socialism to try to rationalize independently but to combine it with a broad humanizing process. Socialism's own principles and ideals require social improvement to have the practical result of better material and cultural living conditions for the masses of workers and a high level of democratism, civilization and socialist-humanist culture. Therefore the socialist-humanist factor certainly must be considered in preparing and applying any act of social improvement, whether it is organizational, institutional, legal, political, ideological or cultural. The CPR has been proceeding that way in managing the vast undertaking of social improvement. For example the improvement of socialist production relations meets the objective, quantitative and especially the qualitative requirements

for development of the productive forces in the process of modernization, for purposes of dynamic correlation of both aspects of the socialist production method. Similarly the improvements made in the organizational forms of the system of socialist democracy are demanded by urgent necessity but also by the possibility peculiar to socialist society of securing the masses' effective and permanent participation in state management and of utilizing their experience and critical, constructive spirit creative of higher values. In its turn, the improvement of the political-educational work of the system of education and cultural institutions is expected to meet the increasingly complex needs of a society with a modernized economy and a fully developed and diversified science in keeping with the requirements of life and activity, as well as the constantly greater and more subtle intellectual needs of the new generations of builders of socialism. As a reflection of the continuity of the revolutionary process, the concept of social improvement and self-improvement calls attention to the necessity of commencing the offensive of all that is new, effective and rational in socialist social procedure and awareness against all that is outmoded, ephemeral and resistant to development.

Avoiding an idyllic and one-sided picture of the process of appearance and development of the new in socialism is equivalent to considering the objective fact that the new arises to replace the old and to resolve a contradiction by openly joining the battle to overcome the old in attitudes and procedures. The old is not an abstraction but is personified and embodied in actions, attitudes, behavior, opinions and practices of living, determined people. The appearance of the new is recorded by the bearers of the old like an "earthquake" in the area of routine and conservatism, which alarms them and mobilizes them against the new and the particular bearers of it. Their hostile attitude is often facilitated by the equally objective fact that the new in experience never appears in a pure, crystalline form, that the bearers of it are people who inevitably have various personal defects in addition to qualities, and that their activity as a whole is still not beyond any criticism.

But the main distinctive feature of the conflict between new and old in socialism and of Romania's socioeconomic development as a whole lies in the fact that for the first time in social history what is truly new and progressive and what is valuable and in keeping with the vital interests of the masses and social progress are initiated, promoted and encouraged by society's leading force itself. It may be said that elimination of the old and the triumph of the new in Romanian society are major aims of the party's entire domestic and foreign policy and of the activity of the state and the mass and public organizations, as constituent elements of the continuity of the revolutionary process. The CPR regards elimination of all that is or is becoming obsolete, petrified or conservative in the system of organization and management of socioeconomic activity and relations among people, as well as consistent promotion of the new, as essential aspects of the exercise of its leadership in society.

One of the most cogent and important reasons for continuity of the revolutionary process lies in the objective and continuous nature of the appearance and action of the contradictions and in the urgent need of studying, understanding and promptly resolving those contradictions and of preventing and avoiding their development into antagonisms and conflicts. This is one of the essential functions of the party's leadership in society and the graphic evidence of its high

historical responsibility to the continuity of the revolutionary process and the destinies of socialism and communism in Romania. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In functioning as the entire nation's vital center, the party must secure the best performances of all social sectors and all activity in order to prevent the appearance of contradictions and difficulties that may obstruct social progress... It is the role of the party organs, the party, the state organs and the Romanian state to take purposeful action to eliminate them."

The National Party Conference*concluded that in the present stage continuation of the revolutionary process requires consolidation of the great achievements and provision for a new balance and a harmonious development of all activities in order to eliminate any contradictions or disturbance that have arisen and to provide for the further progress of the Romanian order. In his report to the National Party Conference Nicolae Ceausescu made a penetrating analysis of these contradictions and the ways of resolving them (by developing and instituting a system of carefully prepared and correlated programs to achieve the fullest possible coordination of the productive forces with the social relations) and of the harmonious and continuous progress of Romanian society as a whole. A broad field for manifestation of the constructive revolutionary spirit is provided by unification and concentration of the energies of all workers regardless of nationality upon regular implementation of the programs for socioeconomic development, which is inseparable from the party's ideological program for political, revolutionary and patriotic indoctrination of the masses. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out again in his speech at Mangalia, that is why consistent implementation of the developmental programs and the measures approved by the party and state administrations must be central to the organizational and political-educational work of all party organs and organizations.

The Main Emphasis

One of the most important and broadest fields, with many complex tasks to perform that substantiate and justify the necessity of continuity of the revolutionary process, is that of political-educational work, reform of people's awareness and psychology, and assimilation and conversion of the socialist values and standards of work and life and of human relations into inner convictions and, through them, into stable behavior.

The purposeful, organized, planned and far-sighted nature of a lengthy and so complex undertaking as the construction of the fully developed socialist society excludes anarchic manifestations, irregularity, incompetence, arbitrariness and subjectivism and requires competence, organizational spirit, discipline and order a high sense of revolutionary and patriotic responsibility, and foresight. Although it must emphasize creation of a strong and modern technical-material base in keeping with the advances of the contemporary scientific-technological revolution, socialist construction is not a technical or managerial task but a socio-economic, political-organizational, ideological and cultural one characterized by the supreme values of humanity and socialist humanism. That is why, in planning socialist construction as a continuous revolutionary process, the CPR and its secretary general take a firm stand against instances of technicalism in social management and activity. Hence also the requirement for harmonious combination of the professional, technical, economic and scientific disciplines with organizational aptitudes and the latter with the political outlook, as well as

*In 1982.

the requirement for consistent promotion of the revolutionary spirit of work and struggle. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Party and state personnel must be good specialists but also good revolutionaries. They must combine both disciplines with the spirit of struggle for revolutionary world reform." Continuity of the revolutionary process means complete and steady attainment of the socio-economic, political, ideological and cultural-educational goals set in the party program documents and the laws of the land. It actually permits transition to a new stage of development and achievement of a new and better quality of the entire people's work and life.

Professional competence, as a source of the material and cultural values essential to people and society, as well as the revolutionary spirit basic to active participation in social-political activity and social management, have a field of manifestation and a criterion for objective evaluation solely in daily activity, the tangible results of work, and behavior at work and in society. To be sure it is much easier to speak of the need and importance of competence, improved professional qualifications and retraining and of the need of the revolutionary spirit in life and work, but it is far more difficult for all people to comply with those vital necessities for themselves. That is why the party in its political-ideological work emphasizes consistency between word and deed and believes that the party's leading role must be planned and implemented so that every party organization and member perform both their professional tasks well at their places of work and their political and educational ones, placing the interests of the party, the nation and the people above all.

The new social awareness is formed and tempered in the revolutionary process itself, because as Marx and Engels postulated, "The revolution is therefore necessary not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way but also because it is only in the course of a revolution that the class that overthrows the existing order can purge itself of all the old decay and become capable of creating the foundations of a new society."

With all the levers they have, political, economic, legal, ideological and cultural-educational, the CPR and the state combat and discourage the moral weaknesses of the past and the ideas and behavior generated by the long reign of private ownership and the bourgeois way of life, and they encourage in every way the traits of socialist awareness, namely the cult of productive work, development and vigilant defense of socialist property, discipline, initiative, diligence, honor, courage, modesty and the spirit of collaboration and friendship among people and nations. The CPR feels that the new man, the builder of socialism and communism, must be a master of the most advanced gains in human knowledge, must embody high political and moral virtues and must display enthusiasm for creative work, courage in thought and action, enterprise in promoting the new throughout society, firmness in the struggle for justice, truth and the principles of socialist ethics and justice, and the resolve to fight selflessly in defense of the revolutionary gains, the nation's integrity and sovereignty, and the cause of communism in Romania.

Of course these conditions and qualities require an extensive, continuous and persevering political-educational effort that will contribute to the complete and synchronized attainment of all the goals of the present stage. The expected results of political-educational work and elimination of its lag behind development of the productive forces or reduction of the gap between them depend upon

comprehension of the particular nature and laws of formation and development of awareness and the complex relationships between awareness, language and behavior. Not only existence but also awareness has its laws of formation, evolution, development and change. Existence is subject to physical, chemical and biological laws and awareness to psychological and psycho-sociological laws. It is far more difficult and delicate to "work" on awareness than to work on physical, chemical and biological matter. But they have the fact in common that in the cases of both social existence and awareness the particular laws to which each of them is subject must be known and considered. Efforts to influence awareness (education, development and orientation) encounter insurmountable difficulties unless the psychological and psychosocial nature of the phenomena of awareness are understood and the psychological and psychosocial laws governing them are considered.

As both practical experience and sociological and psychosociological research have demonstrated, effective achievement of the economic efficiency of a productive activity depends not only on the technical-economic factors (installations, equipment, raw materials, power engineering, investments etc.) but also critically upon the noneconomic, organizational, legal especially, psychosocial and psychomoral factors, namely the level of qualification of the labor force, climate of cooperation, managerial approach, spirit of order and discipline, sense of responsibility, attitude toward work and its quality, innovative spirit and encouragement of it, confidence in internal creative power, level of opposition of collective opinion to defects, failures and violations, level of aspirations and in general the degree of professional, political and civic socialist awareness of the participants in the production process. The foregoing psychosocial factors of awareness appear directly on the economic-financial balance sheet in the form of lower production costs, improved labor productivity and product quality, curtailment of rejects and waste, and greater profitability of the respective units' entire activity.

By the very nature of the phenomena with which it is concerned, which is the very subject of its study, psychosociology can make a valuable contribution to all the highly urgent objectives and tasks set by the party and its secretary general because the whole political, organizational and ideological effort fully involves psychosocial factors expressly mentioned in all the party documents, namely revolutionary spirit, high communist standards, party spirit, sense of responsibility, order and discipline, firmness, opposition to defects, to tendencies toward complacency and convenience, and to routine and bureaucracy, spirit of criticism and self-criticism, dedication, revolutionary romanticism, patriotism, confidence in internal forces, intolerance of recurrences of nationalism, any kind of chauvinism, cosmopolitanism, etc.

Continuity of the revolutionary process is also reflected in the internal mechanism of constant provocation of democratic confrontations of ideas in and for the formation of a theoretical and ideological conception that is uniform and unified in the socialist system and especially in communism. This is not to be understood in the narrow sense of standardization and unquestioning acceptance of any given theory. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Assertion of a unified conception absolutely requires a constant conflict between different theories and conceptions of better organization of the productive forces, social relations, and the life of the masses. Of course this will be a conflict based on uniform production relations and also on development of science, culture and

human knowledge, which will keep opening up more and more new ways of improving life and social relations."

In this spirit, the problem of a creative revolutionary attitude toward theory reveals the necessity and demonstrates the possibility of enriching it with new theories originating in scientific generalization of new social experience and of unprecedented elements in the realities of the contemporary period and in the activity of socialist construction. The creative attitude toward theory and the definite trend toward generalization of experience have spurred the CPR's innovating activity and bring out its contribution to enrichment of the treasury of ideas of revolutionary thought, which are guiding the process of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism.

5186

CSO: 2700/41

NEED TO COUNTER RELIGIOUS VIEWS STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 25 Oct 83 pp 34-35

/Article by Reader Dr Florin Georgescu: "Role of Scientific-Materialist Education in Molding the New Man"/

/Text/ Socialism advances to new stages in step with the progress of society through improvement of every subsystem of society and with the progress of the human through improvement of the individual's living conditions and development of his personality. Accordingly the formation and development of the workers' socialist awareness are necessarily results of the evolution of all the components of social existence.

The process of molding the individual is one of the aims of a distinct activity structured and conducted as an educational program to be implemented in itself in a revolutionary way. Education cannot be limited to a "copy" of society or a mere perpetuation of it but must surpass the stage that has been reached because those whom it is training today will construct a new stage of social progress. In binding the tie between society and individuals by transmitting experience and the system of values, the educational effort performs a social task and also demonstrates its humanistic bent. It is a social task because the new order is being built by persons indoctrinated in the revolutionary spirit and aware of their place and mission in social evolution and of a humanistic calling, and also because the human being is its supreme goal and his fulfillment its original value.

As an important feature of the educational system, scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist indoctrination is intended to help train people to act knowledgeably in the course of the social process and thereby to completely find themselves in social activity.

In his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference the party secretary general pointed out in this connection that political-educational work must firmly oppose the mystical ideas lingering in people's awareness as weaknesses of the past. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must realize that formation of the new man calls for a determined, exacting struggle against all those backward ideas and attitudes."

The importance of the human factor in the system of values advanced by socialism is apparent from the decisive effect that it ultimately has upon the whole process of revolutionary reform and of society's material and cultural development.

As the CPR documents repeatedly point out, formation of socialist awareness has interdependent and interacting basic requirements, namely acquisition of extensive technical-scientific and cultural knowledge, formation of civic behavior in keeping with Romanian social standards, complete moral awareness, and mastery of the working-class conception of the world, that is dialectical and historical materialism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, intensified scientific-materialist educational work is especially necessary in view of the contemporary social conditions and the great successes of science. The party secretary general said, "In this situation it is especially difficult to understand how mystical, backward ideas can still appear and can still infect some people and even communists, unfortunately. I am emphasizing this because we must draw all the necessary conclusions about some defects in our ideological, political and educational work and we must take steps so that these situations cannot be repeated under any circumstances."

Scientific-materialist education is still conducted in an abstract way without consideration of the specific facts or the evolution of the religious phenomenon. It is sometimes believed that it can accomplish its objectives solely by theoretical criticism of religious ideas, whereas the critical approach to the religious phenomenon in order to achieve the ends of atheist education necessarily requires knowledge of its causes and determination of its nature and the part it plays in the lives of people and society. Approached from that standpoint, religion itself appears as a far-reaching social reality.

Religion is a distinct form of social awareness and, like the other forms of spiritual experience, a reflection of social existence. Born in times immemorial of man's inability to control the forces outside him, religion was instituted in history and has made history, reflecting in its own characteristic way the material conditions of society's existence. As a particular form of reflection, religion is the product of past societies, expressing the condition of the individual who did not find his place as an individual in the system of relations in which he was integrated.

But in relation to socialist society, religion is a reflection of some vanished situations. By continuing to exist in parallel with the new course of society, thanks to its relative independence of social existence, religion has disruptive effects upon social activity.

Even though the new social existence does not function objectively as a cause of religion, it is not impossible that in some of its areas, fields or phases it may sometimes function as a favorable factor for perpetuating some people's religious belief. The new economic base, founded upon socialist ownership of the production means, is foreign by its very nature to the forms of religious alienation. But even though the new social relations, especially the production ones, are to develop as entirely human relations, situations contrary to this spirit may also arise at times in actual experience.

Socialism itself, as a real historical process, cannot be reduced to a Utopian ideal. It is not an embodiment of an absolute perfection that can be projected by visionary thought but a living reality in constant evolution wherein the new and the old are constantly confronted. It is not a prefabricated building in which a world purged of all that pertains to the vices of the past is to dwell, but the construction process itself, a process implemented by people as they are with their virtues but also with their faults. As the party secretary general said in his speech of 3 August 1978, "Not everything is ideal in the socialist countries. Unfortunately some problems have not been entirely solved in these countries, including Romania. The principles of socialist ethics and justice have not always been fully applied, and much remains to be done in order to implement them completely... There are also problems whose solution depends upon improvement of the productive forces, more intensive development of science, culture and education, and growth of the resources and facilities available to society."

Scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education begins and must end with the effort to eliminate all that obstructs the worthy life and fulfillment of the individual as an individual, and all that impairs perception of the idea that the truly human life is the product of the responsible work of all. Only such an interpretation conforms consistently to the spirit of the materialist conception of history.

The nature of the religious phenomenon as an alienated reflection of experience must also be considered. The characteristics of this reflection enable a believer to ignore or distort the historical progress made by the new society. As a form of awareness religion creates a supernatural subject matter of its own that it considers existing and controlling in relation to the world. Therefore the believers can often interpret the changes that occur in the socialist history of Romania according to the standards of their faith. Indoctrinated in ideas of the supernatural, the believer will attach meanings to social progress other than the real ones despite the fact that he benefits as a worker from its results. Such a situation calls for organization and performance of educational work according to the particular mode of existence of the religion.

The ideas developed within the religious system and promoted by it do not correspond to reality. In that respect they are at the opposite pole from reality and scientific knowledge of the world, in conservative positions opposed to the directions of Romanian society's development and especially to the basic aim of educating the individual.

It is primarily science that is invoked today in the confrontation with religion, although not with religious people. Moreover it is an unquestionable fact that diffusion of scientific knowledge among the masses has been an effort with good results. But scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist educational work cannot be confined to merely contrasting scientific truths with religious dogmas in its criticism of the manifestations of the religious phenomenon in the lives of contemporaries, including some members of Romanian society. The educational effort cannot be limited solely to theoretical demonstration of the erroneous nature of religious ideas.

Science itself has never confined its efforts to the explanatory function alone. Its progress is aimed at rationalization of the human condition as a whole. By

discovering the objective laws that give rise to the processes and phenomena of the reality around him, man is forming his scientifically substantiated conception of the world and life and gradually freeing himself from prejudices and beliefs that left him helpless before ruthless necessity. He is also improving his means of labor as science becomes a true productive force today. Through science man has succeeded in harnessing atomic power, in advancing into outer space, in producing new substances artificially, and in converting plant and animal characteristics to his own use. He can fight more successfully against diseases today, and ultimately for prolongation of life.

It may be said that contemporary man is living in an environment created by science and benefiting by its results every day. Yet at times he still professes ideas originating in the dawn of primitive civilization, reproducing the conditions of those historical periods in his awareness.

Viewed as an attempt whereby man hoped over past historical periods to know the world, religion unquestionably appears today as a false reflection. But it proves that man aspired to more than just knowing the world. The ideas of the supernatural were not only instituted as a certain theory for prolonging the social realities but were the product of an alienated and alienating existence. Man's practical relationship itself with the world was affected under the historical conditions when religion appeared. Because the man of that society could find no possibility of overcoming alienation nor any sympathy in his connections with his neighbors, he tried to fulfill himself in the illusion of religion. By means of religious beliefs man duplicated the real world. He assumed the existence of a fantastic world above it, upon which the first world depended. Born of a certain condition of the human being in his practical experience itself, religion became a far-reaching social phenomenon that extended its sphere of influence over the other areas of social existence. Society itself, the processes going on in it, and the mechanisms that govern them were distorted in religious ideas as the result of divine will. Having appeared within society, religion made it its subject, manifesting itself characteristically in all areas of human experience throughout history.

Viewed in this light, man does not wish to be just a cognitive subject, resorting to the supernatural to explain the world. He also appears as a political and moral subject, or one with a conception of the world, etc. The practical results of socialist revolution and construction have accordingly proved that in the whole process of building a new life the objective causes or the social-human determinations that favored the appearance and functioning of religion are eliminated in succession. In addition to improvement of material living conditions, a sustained and militant educational effort is also necessary in order to eradicate man's mystical ideas and the forms of his religious alienation.

All fields of human intellectuality are called upon to help science in the process of man's emancipation. A man's fulfillment requires his scientific information but also his moral improvement, training as a political militant, education in the spirit of artistic values, etc. The CPR documents emphatically stress the principle that development of the human personality and training of the man of the socialist and communist era cannot be confined solely to knowledge of decisions or general principles but necessarily requires constant broadening of the horizon of professional, political, scientific and general cultural disciplines and knowledge of the intellectual values created by humanity throughout history.

When people acquire a broad horizon of knowledge and are armed with the CPR's revolutionary conception of the world and life, namely dialectical and historical materialism, prospects are opened up for purposeful action in keeping with the objective laws of nature and society and with promotion and development of the workers' new awareness. Moreover man's liberation from any form of religious alienation obstructing his complete human and social fulfillment is inseparable from the whole process of creating a new material and cultural existence and promoting better morals and principles and standards in keeping with the new social conditions under which the man of socialist society lives and works.

Religious ideas and beliefs have no independent existence but are generated by the alienating character of the actual social relations among people in societies split into classes with conflicting socioeconomic interests. They live and are transmitted from one generation to the next by people and their consciousness so that, viewed as a whole phenomenon, religion involves a psychological aspect (religious social psychology), which is expressed by characteristic behavior taking the form of the sect, in addition to the ideological aspect. The religious ideology and psychology and the sect are developed in their turn in a specially organized institutional structure.

Man wished to know the world (erroneously, however) through religion, and he reflected it in a particular (fantastic) way. He tried to fulfill himself through religion, and because the reality wherein he lived did not allow him true fulfillment he tried to fulfill himself in an illusory way. As Marx said, religion is the fantastic fulfillment of the human being. The world of religion creates for man the impression of fulfillment, which is actually untrue.

In accordance with this situation, scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist indoctrination, as a component part of the party's political-ideological activity, has been instituted and is conducted as a humanistic program and as an effort made for the individual so that he himself will give up his belief in the supernatural and opt for the worthy life and for the values of scientific knowledge and of humanism.

The believer himself is the one who chooses, who must give up a world that is illusory in nature but authentic to him. Therefore it is the noble task of education to approach the religious man carefully and to treat him with all tact and due consideration, persevering so that he will decide in favor of the humanistic values and the scientific-materialist conception.

Of course the educational effort must conform to the principle of freedom of conscience. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We communists are guided by the scientific conception of the materiality of the world and we strenuously combat superstitions, mysticism and the idealist schools of thought. At the same time the policy of the party and state and all social activity are based upon respect for people's beliefs, freedom of conscience, and free expression of the sects within the laws of the state, in view of the fact that regardless of his religious belief every citizen and every member of any sect must respect the laws and serve the cause of constructing the new order in Romania."

The state regards religion as a private problem, because it actually represents the interests of all members of society and ensures their civil rights equally

and without discrimination. By legislation in conformity with the principle of freedom of conscience, the state provides for the activity of religious institutions that have been established as such. But the socialist state, as a representative of the interests of all members of society, considers not only the legal performance of religious institutions' activity but also and essentially the fulfillment of the ideals and aspirations of a great part of the population professing no belief in the supernatural. Therefore it is necessary, as a law and a social obligation, to make an extensive educational effort so that the religious persons themselves will perceive the status of religion as a private problem and will not interfere with the forms of socioeconomic activity.

Furthermore full development of the human personality, with a higher moral awareness and a scientific conception of the world, is one of the major aims of building the new society. As an important feature of the party's ideological work, scientific-materialist education is integrated by virtue of its particular objectives in the whole process of building the fully developed socialist society. This interdependence is apparent from the fact that the persistence of some forms of religious alienation obstructs each individual's full advancement in social activity, while there is no question that people cannot be freed of religious prejudices outside the process of revolutionary reform of society as a whole.

Scientific gains today and the historical and dialectical-materialist conception conclusively bear out the scientific interpretation of the world as well as the possibility of effective educational work to form a scientific attitude among the masses, to enhance in that way man's ability to reform society and to create a flourishing material and cultural existence, and to fully express it in all fields of social activity.

5186

CSO: 2700/41

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

10 Jan 1984